THE TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

T·L·S

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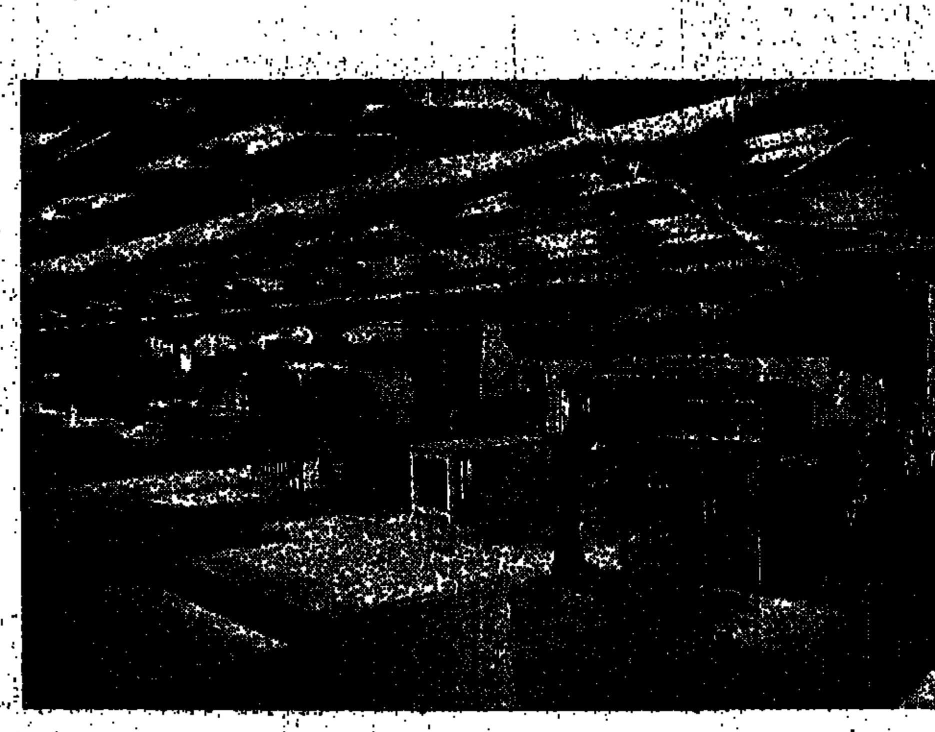
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y history addressed to a big ene is a compromise. All eral histories are in some failures. What someone has had to be reduced to g which the existing state of ship permits. The disappoint- roned is almost exactly pro- ate to the scale of the theme ked. Though this is depres- r the authors and editors of ks, it is inevitable and doubt- ounted for some of the sour given to certain volumes of *ambridge Modern History* y first appeared, sixty-odd o. There were also better for adverse criticism in some and these were quickly Yet the general usefulness ssibility of this remarkable e long ago overtaken its Teachers and students to use it in that automatic thoughtless way which is the dication of the classical of a reference work. It won alade of popularity from ds of them who learnt to refer and colloquially by its it became "the *C.M.H.*".

was probably not what its would have desired and not all he had dreamed of. is indisputably a great ent. Perhaps it justifies the photographic reprint in a Edition (though hardly its Cheap Edition of 1934, quired a resetting of the 7s. 6d. a volume). It may new universities and a now which shows its thirst for tion is an unprecedented for historical books alone that this great work of ence should again be made available. Certainly nothing ike it has appeared since, and se sense it is irreplaceable: the loss, its technical shortcom- ave not grown less apparent passing of time and it can be relied upon with so falsification as at its appear- it would be incredible if a on this scale had not under- great deal of technical dila- ; some of its conclusions e have had to stand up to eventy years of scholarly . Criticism on those lines only proceed piecemeal, se use of different sections work demands it, Republica- ould provoke, rather, re- ect as a whole, and the proper point is not the execution of but the ideas informing it, ation behind the *History*.

h he died before any of it Acton, as is well known, begetter and planner. at the end of the last G. P. Gooch commented in of historiography "that though he never wrote a ired the writing of many It is not very well turned, e true and could hardly in a place more apt; *si unum requiris, circumspice*. teen volumes of the *C.M.H.* ciated with Acton by the public more readily than work he inspired and are the biggest single expres- his influence. He did not enough to see any of its appear, nor, although he ost of the contributors him- his among them (he had to write about the Council In this he remained true to his reputation as the of the historians who have en. Not is this certainly a regret; it is difficult not that the *C.M.H.* would delayed had he

to write for it. As it was, the pace at which the work was carried out by editors and contributors alike now seems startlingly different from what we have learnt to tolerate in modern cooperative ventures. It was in 1896 that the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press invited Acton to edit the general history they planned. He sent his Report to the Syndics that year and his letter of direction to his contributors in 1898. He died in 1902, when the first volume was about to be published. Thereafter, others steadily appeared, the last of the twelve containing the text in 1910, the tables and general index in 1911 and the *Atlas* (which is not now reprinted) in 1914. In the eight years which saw the appearance of the main body of the work the prefaces occasionally recorded apologies for delay from the editors who had taken up Acton's task.

The Cambridge Modern History

Planned by Lord Acton. Edited by A. W. Ward, G. W. Prothero, and Stanley Leathes.

Library Edition Reissue.

13 volumes. £9 each volume. £105 the set.

Though, in its completed form, the *C.M.H.* was not to be an undistorted, far less a perfect, expression of his vision, it was emphatically a version of Acton's conception. This was what the editors said was their ideal, though they had to amend it in detail. His ideas, embodied in his plan, determined the course of the *C.M.H.* after his death (and through his choice of contributors, too, his influence was effective). As he himself said, "such an opportunity of promoting his own ideas for the treatment of history has seldom been given to any man"; those ideas ran through many of his writings and lectures, but were most famously set out in his celebrated letter to his contributors.

Acton sought to grapple with a threat to history and to the ordinary cultivated man's ability to understand it which arose, paradoxically, from the very progress of historical scholarship. This was the flood of material which had become available in the nineteenth century as more and more sources became accessible. It threatened to drown all but the specialist who, by dint of treading water vigorously, could just keep his head above it at the cost of staying in the same place. Of course, this change also opened up great possibilities. One of Acton's most unhappy predictions was made in his lectures on the French Revolution: "In a few years . . . all will be known that ever can be known." It was not a good judgment, but it is a wholly understandable one, given Acton's interest in elucidating responsibility by uncovering the way decisions had been made. History could be reduced in this view to a finite number of questions, and most of them would be solved forever once the relevant archive was open and examined. The theoretical possibility of an authoritative history existed and the practical means of realizing it was in sight.

It was not only desirable but in Acton's view socially and even politically essential to find a means of conveying the lessons learned in the archives to the lay public, but no one historian could any longer hope to do it. The answer lay in specialism itself. A team of historians dividing the task between them could still provide a synoptic and comprehensive view if their contributions were properly planned.

In spite of its appeal as a technical device, Acton nevertheless saw a danger in collective history. He believed it might threaten the impartiality which could alone guarantee authority and on this he expressed himself in one of his most famous passages:

> Our scheme requires that nothing shall reveal the country, the religion, or the party to which the writers belong. It is essential, not only on the ground that impartiality is the character of legitimate history, but because the work is carried on by men acting together for no other object than the increase of accurate knowledge. The disclosure of personal views would lead to such confusion, that all unity of design would disappear.

It is interesting that Acton distinguished here what may be called the moral and technical values of impartiality. It was not only "essential" to the "character of legitimate history", but it bore crucially on the question of planning. A little later he returns to the point:

> Contributors will understand that we are established, not under the Meridian of Greenwich, but in Long. 30 deg. W.; that our Waterloo must be one that satisfies French and English, Germans and Dutch alike; that nobody can [sic] tell, without examining the list of authors, where the Bishop of Oxford laid down the pen, and whether Fairbairn or Gasquet, Liebermann or Harrison took it up.

Finally Acton wanted his history to have a substantial unity. It was to be more than a compilation of national histories; it was to tell the story of mankind. He spoke of a "Universal History"

> which is distinct from the combined history of all countries, which is not a rope of sand, but a continuous devel-

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opinent, and is not a burden on the memory, but an illumination of the soul. It moves in a succession to which the nations are subsidiary. Their story will be told, not for their own sake, but in reference and subordination to a higher series, according to the time and degree in which they contribute to the common fortunes of mankind.

These words seemed so important to them that they were adopted by the editors who took up his task and were used by them in their general preface. There is perhaps a hint in this of the comparative method now sometimes so loudly advocated, but this is misleading; Acton's eye was on another target. "Facts are the mere dross of history," was, as every schoolboy knows, Macaulay's dictum: it tends to be overlooked that Acton (like Macaulay, vastly learned) quoted it approvingly in the notes to his inaugural Lecture, going on to what follows: "It is from the abstract truth which interpenetrates them, and lies among them like gold in the ore, that the mass derives its value." Not all those who run down Macaulay remember this endorsement. It is, of course, a mark of that generalizing tendency of the nineteenth century which was so pervasive that, in this case as in many others, it obliterated gaps between generations.

Signs of partiality

In the attempt to distinguish the abstract truth interpenetrating the huge but opaque deposits of ore in the depths of the *Cambridge Modern History* was not to be so easy as Acton would have wished. It nearly always requires the microscope and often the eye of faith. It is also true that, from the start, the ideal of impartiality and evenness in a continuous historiographical flow was compromised much more than Acton's principles should have permitted.

This was in part because of the difficulty of eliminating a wide variety of tone provoked by differences of style; there were some shockingly dull chapters. There were also some simply incompetent ones and some (those of Dunn-Pattison and Anlard are examples) which take up strongly contrasting positions on the same event. In others, a unbralizing strain gives them an unhappy singularity; when Burd wrote that "in Florence, as in most cities of Central Italy, intellect had outrun character, and the sterner virtues were almost entirely unknown", what is most irritating is not the moral stance as such, but the pretension that this can stand for information. There is missing just the rough, fibrous feel of a society that alone could make such a judgment acceptable.

Another source of trouble and unevenness, as critics quickly pointed out, lay in the method itself. Without the closest editorial control and perhaps the editors were too busy writing their own very considerable contributions to provide this—the result of reliance on the specialists was bound to be in some places overlapping areas of illumination and therefore repetition, and in others continuing obscurity because no one felt especially responsible. This was a natural point for the tensions between an ideal scheme and the proper expectations of those awaiting the definitive reference work to emerge, and emerge they did.

Some of these points are technical. But the ideal of an impartial unity of tone was also implicitly compromised from the outset by defects in Acton's own unexamined dogma. His notorious moral absolutism is irrelevant here. It was the bedrock of Acton's position that revealed religion and the consonant moral law should inform the judgments of the historian on the men who appeared before his court—but, oddly, in the preparation of the *C.M.H.* there was not much said about this; it was not here that the fundamental bias came in. What was more important and distorting was the pre-Crocean assumption of timeless historical truth and timeless historical importance. It was this, presumably, which prevented Acton from recognizing that his choice of historical themes for examination and therefore his plan were themselves partial acts. To choose certain topics for discussion and certain authors to discuss them implied a departure from an impartiality pitched as high as that he had conceived; it might be inevitable, but it was also dangerous if unacknowledged. In the *Cambridge Modern History* this departure is to some extent systematic (to some extent, because the book does not render perfectly Acton's conception). It is this which gives the book much of its character and it is unaffected by the success or failure of contributors in carrying out the scheme.

In some cases the bias emerges fairly clearly and obviously. A glaring example is the contribution by Segrè on Italian history in Volume X. It is superficial and inadequate, but its scholarly weakness is not what matters here. It also shows the bias of the school dominated by the liberal myth of the Risorgimento. This view was dominant and even official in the circles in which many English academics moved, but if they were Catholics, or had Catholic friends, they should have recognized that at least one other view could honestly be held. The losers are neglected in this story; here, as elsewhere in the *C.M.H.*, all the awkward implications of the fact that, for thousands of people, reaction, proscription, superstition, intolerance were good, and liberalism, parliaments, enlightenment and tolerance were bad somehow got left out, or else was presented as the wickedness or aberration of powerful men. Whether this emphasis could have been avoided is another question, of course, and one which is itself a matter for investigation by cultural and intellectual historians. That it undermines *ab initio* the proud façade of the principle of impartiality there can be no doubt, and it flows from a built-in predisposition to approach history from a certain point of view.

Pressures from the present

The way in which the ineradicability of contemporary concerns is both strongly marked and not consciously acknowledged can be sensed even better from a much better contribution, J. N. Figgis's fine chapter on political thought in Volume VI. It is of outstanding quality and certainly breaks the even flow to which Acton said he aspired. It is a brilliant essay whose every sentence still provokes thought, even though the modern interest in the history of political ideas has tended to take a different direction. Yet it is tinged by an unhistorical flavour. In it, Figgis constantly related the writing of the past on politics to the events of his own lifetime, even though often only unconsciously, inferentially and implicitly. His discussion is really an examination not of individual writers and the reasons why they wrote as they did but of thought about great themes which preoccupied Acton himself: liberty, tolerance, individualism. The implicit background is the conflict between the assumptions of the liberal sovereign state and religious authority; it is the world of Kulturkampf, Dreyfus, the Papacy after the Vatican Council and the bangings-about of nonconformists, ritualists and establishment men in England as much as it is that of Reformation and Counter-Reformation. In this sense, Figgis was as trapped as Segrè by his assumptions. He wrote much better, and he was a finer thinker and scholar. None the less, his contribution to the *C.M.H.*, though still suggestive and important for the student, is now also interesting as a cultural document of an early moment in the crisis of liberal civilization. Like much good history, of course, it is none the worse for having an extra-historical resonance only a later age could appreciate.

In the light of the confidence he and his contributors showed about what was their central subject-matter, we can understand better Acton's almost exclusive concern with questions capable of solution by finding the relevant documentation in the official archives. Other factors no doubt contributed to this predilection. Here his obsession with moral judgment does come in; nothing could be more likely to approximate historical discussion to adversary procedure and to concentrate the historian's gaze on the specific man, the specific act. Then there was the (perhaps aristocratic?) tendency on which Bryce put his finger: "He was always hunting for the key to secret chambers, believing that the grand staircase is only for show." Bryce allowed that Acton had in fact seen much history in the making, but it is impossible not to recall how much of this was the history of ecclesiastical politics, an especially indirect, arcane and personal world. But such factors are supplementary. It was the assumption that we can take for granted the major organization of the historical landscape which made it almost inevitable that Acton should be, above all, concerned to resolve factual problems about individuals' acts.

This concern made it far too easy to ignore other classes of question and the problems of historical debate which arise from differing canons of judgment. Given the difficulties inherent in his own interest in historical responsibility, it is always curious that Acton did not see this. His example of the ideal of an "agreed" Waterloo is far too simple and straightforward. Who contributed most to victory or defeat by being where, and with what forces, are not necessarily easy questions to answer, but they will not provoke much disagreement about the kind of evidence relevant to settling them. Unfortunately, not all historical argument is about such questions.

To say all this is to say more than that all history can be looked at as historiography. What emerges from a reconsideration of the *Cambridge Modern History* is not merely that for all its aspirations to objectivity it was as relative a cultural artifact as any other; it also emerges that it was a particularly striking and powerful embodiment of one of the most influential historical philosophies ever to exist. There can be little doubt that Acton would have welcomed Figgis's contribution, for it implied the philosophy which Acton accepted. It was based on a confident identification of what constituted history. Such a position has been doubly undermined: on one hand there are those who question the criteria of importance implicit in Acton's view, but agree that "importance" is a meaningful term. The Marxists go so far, so would Mr. Carr. They would disagree with the identification of the really important themes, but, like Acton, could in principle agree on a scheme for the organization of general history which would lead to them self-evidently valid.

At a different and deeper level other sappers have been at work who claim (or appear) to undermine the notion of historical objectivity altogether. These are those who proclaim a view of history which is essentially egalitarian. Even if that has happened, it is disputable that all nations are equally worth studying; what matters is historical-mindedness which can be acquired by studying anything for its own sake. Acton would not have liked this, but his modern descendants, in practice, makes an ordered view of history very hard to achieve. To see history as an essentially objective activity or as entertainment this approach does not rule out already existed.

Acton saw clearly—perhaps clearly than the editors—the need of a general history. He did once an implication of increasing expansion of historical which cut at the heart of of a final statement. This impossibility of prescribing ... or of containing the ... of matter with which the ... might be concerned. In looked forward to our own ... the study of some ... of social and cultural history ... transformed the notion of ... material and where, indeed, ... all experimental technique ... the old teaching device ... counter-factual argument for ... we may go beyond any- ... previously recognized as his- ... For the alert reader of ... Cambridge Modern History, ... reminder should have at ... fought is question the whole ... within which he had been ... hope that finality might be ... how could it be, if now ... were always waiting *in*

Selection of the significant

Such views are far from ... Acton. His aim—the ... statement of what was ... the past—predicted the ... to the end of the process. ... cently accounted in a ... rhetoric and technically ... plished in a man of his ... knowledge though it may ... the *Whig interpretation* ... Acton offers us in the end.

Now it may well be true ... continuous account of ... be given which does not ... on such a view. How can ... ize it, far less select within ... do not know what is ... the whole story? Yet ... nonsense of the ideal of ... impartiality. The Segrè ... easily follows; in his ... find a contribution by ... "common fortune of ... the origins of the installation ... House of Savoy on the ... Italy because it fits into a ... growing world organization ... principle of nationality.

Mandell Creighton wrote ...

questions

material

... on further refined Acton's ... that the threat presented to ... fusion by the mass of ... becoming available in ... and monographs by noting ... arose not only by accre- ... existing material but by the ... of new significance in ... body was known; changes ... now asked make demands ... assessment of old material ... new ways. This was shrewd ... reveals crucial difficulties to ... wishing to organize an ... over general account of the ... new general history might ... required because of chang- ... of significance. Creighton ... looking ahead to problems ... not faced; his answer ... to the standard of con- ... significance as a guide to ... and to select material for ... "No guide is so sure ... than as an overmastering ... the importance of events as ... lated to those who took ... part." We need not quibble ... over the vagueness of ... who took part"; Creigh- ... point is clear, and it is ... a respectable one in the ... historians today. But it ... total conflict with the ... which the *Cambridge ... History* is based and with ... of what Creighton had to ...

... made other comments ... ill with the book he ... ducing ("the cult of im- ... displaces the judgement"), ... was his own; he ... to shake off the ... that was, for all its ...

The assumption of progress

Yet it is easy to see why such a view was still acceptable to Creighton. To begin again with the state of the discipline, available information when he wrote bound historians to give much more emphasis to the elite and the pacemakers than to the mass and the average; this was only to change as research broke into new areas. We can understand also that to a nineteenth-century Christian (and a bishop, to boot) an identification of the modern age in terms of a self-assertion rooted in religion is natural. Acton had insisted bluntly in his Inaugural Lecture that the "first of human concerns is religion", and Creighton at least tempered his dogmatic convictions more than this. What was more fundamental still was a philosophy of history which Creighton shared with most of his generation: "We are bound to assume as the scientific hypothesis on which history is to be written, a progress in human affairs." For men of the nineteenth century this was expressed above all in the elaboration of the institutional framework within which European civilization had grown and in which it had achieved world dominance. This meant, above all, the history of state forms and the history of religious struggles. Once this was conceded, Creighton's endorsement of the two themes around which he expected the *Cambridge Modern History* to take shape naturally follows. One was individual freedom, the other the organization of national states, the classical pair of opposing batsmen for a liberal historiography.

In the outcome, those themes are important, but they neither dominate the *C.M.H.* as Acton would perhaps have wished, nor emerge naturally and clearly from it as Creighton seems to suggest would happen by assembling a number of monographs on topics whose selection rests on the recognition of the general process at work. Creighton steered round the difficulties of selecting the main divisions by assuming agreement on his most general propositions and then expecting them to be exemplified in detailed work by specialists, who would illustrate them naturally in dealing with their specialisms. It did not happen.

The success and failure of the *C.M.H.* in embodying these ideals is not easy to separate from the technical criticisms already touched upon. It might be expected, for example, that such general themes as were implicit in the ideas of progress, individualism, nationality and so on could be powerfully illuminated by the history of culture. Yet the editors claimed consciously to have set aside "art and literature" except in their direct bearing on politics, economics and social life. But they also had little to draw on in available scholarly work. Art history and the history of culture and society have made their greatest strides since 1911. They can be registered very easily by comparing Professor Denys Hay's volume on *The Renaissance* in the *New Cambridge Modern History* with its forerunner in the old *Cambridge Modern History*. The earlier book is much longer, but the detail with which it is packed is detail about politics, warfare and diplomacy (and this when two whole chapters are devoted to Florence, one each to Rome and Venice); it has nothing to compare with Hans Baron's discussion of culture in the later volume, no discussion of early printing, the conditions of literary production and the social forms of education as good as that provided (short as it is) by Professor Hay himself. Even where the older history attacks on the cultural front (in Jebb's discussion of classical scholarship in Volume X, for example) the limiting assumptions of the academic world from which the essay comes are quickly apparent to the reader; we move in a succession much more bibliographical than social.

There is then always an allowance to be made for what could be done. This allowance made, none the less, it is impossible not to feel that conscious choice did as much to determine the direction of attention of the *History* as available resources. But it is more apparent negatively than positively. This is perhaps the way in which the *C.M.H.* fell away most sharply from what had been hoped would be found in it. The omissions directed by the prevailing philosophy now seem more striking than the inclusions. The dominant impression left by the older *C.M.H.* is that its shape is determined mainly by the decision to present above all the political and economic facts most relevant to an explanation of the organization of an existing world which was taken to have reached an equilibrium in which fundamental disturbance was unlikely. This now makes it an important document though, oddly, one which expresses a coherent view more by what it does not say than by what it does.

Utility before unity

Much disappointment was expressed by the lack of the unity which the account had been expected to provide; some of this, no doubt, would have been avoided had the *C.M.H.* delineated more emphatically its positive view of the development of the modern world. Yet it was, within these limitations and subject to particular defects in execution, conspicuously successful. It left earlier rivals behind. Lavisse and Rambaud might be superior in lucidity and organization, but the copiousness of the Cambridge product made it much more useful. It was remarkably up-to-date, too, not only in scholarship, but in coverage. The accession of George V is recorded in Volume XII; the latest volume of the *New Cambridge Modern History* has not dared to venture beyond 1945. Then there were the bibliographies; a few were poor, but most were good, one (based on Acton's own collection of pamphlets on the Thirty Years War) magnificent, and almost all useful. Perhaps it was this comprehensive utility which did most to establish the *C.M.H.* rather than the strong narrative line which Acton had hoped it could elucidate and which it so conspicuously failed to embody. The Syndics, at any rate,

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soon seem to have been convinced they had a winner; it was the beginning of a line of multi-volume collective works which has gone on ever since. The first volume of the *Cambridge Medieval History* was published in 1911 and later there came the *Cambridge Ancient History* and the *Cambridge History of the British Empire*. Now we are in the middle of a restatement of Modern History in the same form and other ventures into Economic and African history have been launched. Perhaps this is the best testimony to the enduring usefulness in a special pedagogic sense of the *History* and we can now take it for granted. What else remains?

Landmark of an era

The modern reader can now approach it as the embodiment of an older world-view. There is a danger that it may therefore be dismissed simply as a relic of antiquity, for it does not immediately invite closer examination. Not even enthusiastic admirers, it must be admitted, could be tempted to justify the *History*'s claim to attention on grounds of literary distinction. An occasional chapter by a Maitland is small refreshment in the monotonous acres of nourishing but scarcely enjoyable academic prose which do most to provide the *C.M.H.* with the undifferentiated continuum of tone Acton had hoped for. Its reconsideration has to be justified otherwise and must be connected fundamentally with its embodiment of the particular view of history which has been remarked. It is a landmark, both in the history of historiography and of culture, a monument to a civilization's view of itself. This is clearest in the concluding volume which looks forwards as well as back. What is now striking about its judgments is the contrast which so many of them present to the preceding volumes. Through that, they illuminate the end of an era.

By 1910 (when *The Latest Age* was published) the crisis of liberal civilization was much more apparent than it had been even when the first volume came out eight years earlier. In one way, Acton had always assumed that the last volumes would be distinctive, simply because of their sources; the events of recent history were open to exploration, he thought, at a specially intimate level: "The last volumes will be concerned with secrets that cannot be learned from books, but from men." He seems to have been thinking of the verbal confidences of great men and, again, of the revelations of backstairs diplomacy. This anticipation of what a later age has endeavoured to formalize in the assembly of records of "oral history" was, in fact, exploited by Bernard Pares in the two chapters on Russia which he contributed to the volume. Others may have used personal information, too, but there is another and more interesting sense in which personal testimony strikingly informs this volume.

It is true contemporary history; commentary on the recent past by men distinguishing in it the processes by which they are themselves determined. The most striking thing about this commentary is that so much of it consciously announces the end of the age whose view of itself should have been summed up in the design and execution of the *History*. The volume is the record of crumbling assumptions. Stanley Leathes, one of the editors, set out in his introductory chapter some of the themes which announced the end of the age of individualism and liberty. The battles of nationality had moved out to the periphery of the old tournament-ground, and this was only one way in which "the History of Europe becomes the History of the World", as he put it. New configurations of power can be seen in what follows; the Spanish war foreshadows a new role for the United States, and in Oncken's chapter there are ominous words to suggest that the German question cannot much longer be confined within the interpretative categories of liberal historians. It is not the bizarre description of Bülow ("taking over the helm with steady, expert hand") which sticks in the mind, but the sinister post-Morocco psychological tension Oncken voices:

> It is only the fullest exercise of her strength which has sufficed since the days of the Saxon and Hohenstauffen Emperors to vindicate the existence of the Germans as a nation. Long centuries . . . have taught them that, without this determined display of force, the heart of Europe will become an object of attack and spoliation for their Neighbours.

We are only four years from 1914. Different, but equally prophetic, voices can be heard in the record of the materialism which has overtaken thought and social life, of the social reform which has replaced liberty as the great political goal. This theme emerges among other places in Sidney Webb's learned and perceptive chapter on "Social Movements", whose insularity, tireless socialism and consumer-oriented collectivism wonderfully prefigure a coming age. And Dampier Whetham's chapter on science concludes with a startlingly suggestive comment on Rutherford's recent work on radioactivity.

1910 was a good moment for a final volume. Earlier ones had barely reflected the crisis of liberal civilization. They had been truly nineteenth-century, even Victorian, conceived and written by Victorians, with Victorian standards and standpoint. The *C.M.H.* expressed much of the fundamental character of the Victorian age just as the lineaments of that age were dissolving. The earnestness to do justly and the confidence about where the right lay express its culture at its peak. The liberal certainties about values and institutions were their practical expression. The *C.M.H.* witnesses, also—notably in its rapid production—to all the energy of a heroic age of scholarship. Its editors' aim of providing a useful and efficient work of reference was a characteristic expression of the academic mood of an era when handbooks were not things to be sneered at.

The unrealizable dream

Finally, the *C.M.H.* should still command our respect not only because we still use it but because of the aspirations to conclusiveness and finality which it embodied, illusions though they may now seem. In those aspirations, indeed, lies the authentic stamp of the era. The *Cambridge Modern History* remains one of the purest embodiments of the great dream of a hard, ascertainable truth that would be more than a mere scrapbook of antiquarians' facts, which animated the nineteenth-century revolution in historical studies. It was a dream whose unrealizability was already clear to some who, like their successors, nevertheless found it difficult to shake it off in practice. Marx is the obvious example, deeply conscious of the partiality and relativity of individual viewpoints, yet uninhibited in the statements about these viewpoints which he himself, from his own, felt able to make. Relativism was flooding in by 1910, but it made no impact on the *C.M.H.* and its contents.

A final contrast with the *New Cambridge Modern History* is proper here. The latter begins with an introduction by Sir George Clark, like Creighton a Cambridge professor, a scholar … interests and repute … editor of *The English … view* but writing with … different from his … One statement in it … of the matter: histor… he says, "expect their … superseded again and … earlier generation co… to avoid that fate. As … colleagues would, of … agreed that there was … discover and that there's … in the individual histor… prudent and becoming … could all too easily be … archives had revealed … there was still much … principle, though, they … tible. Somewhere, … "documents" could be … one day they would be … questions would be fin…

It was the possibi… questions might change … not merely in form but … dimension, which was … For that, another trans… historical thinking w… and it implied the trans… a culture. It is still bar… The tenacity with which … even if only unconscio… classical myths is still … tion why many of … history. One of these … received so magnificent … an expression as in the … inspired the old *Cambri… History*. For all their … those thirteen volumes … of it as much the expr… age as had been Gibb… piece, a century af… ter before. It is oddly … read them again, tha… ishes. In the words of … farewell to readers … "with feelings of regret … pered by relief".

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CASSELL

Up against the wall

ANDREI AMALRIK:
Involuntary Journey to Siberia
Translated by Manya Harari and Max Hayward.
282pp. Collins and Harvill. £2.25.
Will The Soviet Union Survive Until 1984?
123pp. Allen Lane The Penguin Press. £1.50.

Andrei Amalrik is a very brave man. Possibly this bravery and his cold logic dominate both of these books (*Will the Soviet Union Survive until 1984?* was first published in this country last year in the magazine *Survey*). It is important to understand that Amalrik advocates in his life and in his writings nothing subversive and supports no anti-Soviet movement. He merely insists, as a Soviet citizen, on his constitutional rights. The constitution guarantees free speech and Amalrik speaks and writes freely. Hence Siberia and doubts about survival of the U.S.S.R. until 1984.

For openly voicing criticism of Soviet justice, Amalrik was arrested as a "parasite" in 1965 and deported to Siberia. Max Hayward, in his foreward to *Involuntary Journey to Siberia*, points out that

> The decree on "parasitism" passed under Khrushchev in 1961 was originally intended to help clear the big cities, mainly Moscow and Leningrad, of vagrants, alcoholics, and workers guilty of absenteeism by deporting them to under-populated and inhospitable areas to which it is not easy to attract free labour. It was soon found a convenient way of dealing with "awkward" intellectuals as well. In a sense it was a resumption on a minor scale of Stalin's policy of supplying labour to Siberia and the Far North by the mass deportation of "undesirables". There was an even earlier precedent, as Amalrik mentions, in Peter the Great's decree, under which vagrants were rounded up for work in his factories in the Urals. Then, as now, it was not effective in economic terms.

And how easy it is in Russia to become a vagrant! Amalrik records why Gyusel, his wife, who was not under sentence, should return to Moscow:

> In December Gyusel had been offered the job of managing the recreation room in Novokrivosheino which would have enabled her to live here with me till the end of my term. But this, too, would have meant that she would have to register as a local resident, thus forfeiting her right to live in Moscow and losing all hope of ever returning there. For this reason we refused the offer. Also regardless of the local situation, if Gyusel were absent from Moscow for more than six months she would risk losing her right to live there. If this were to happen, we would find it impossible to take up residence not only in Moscow but in any large city.

It is difficult to decide on the most important aspects of *Involuntary Journey to Siberia*. It is true that, as the jacket says, Amalrik portrays Soviet life at two levels: that of the intellectual and artist, and that of the peasant living in most primitive conditions, and the chapters on his work and the workmates on the collective farm are extremely revealing, although all that he says is timeless. Russian writers throughout the centuries have described the same sort of backcloth to Russian life. Tsar or Commissar come and go, yet certain characteristics remain.

Essentially, driving logic gives the book its greatest momentum. It is extremely detailed and shows, with something of the horrors of a giant nightmare, how possible it is for a man to be caught quite by chance in the wheels of the great bureaucratic machine:

> He may think that only a fold of his jacket has got caught and that everything is all right except for a certain discomfort under the armpits. But all the time the slow movement of the machinery gradually pulls him in and mangles him.

It would b: so simple for anybody, even a writer, to throw up his hands, to imagine that he is going mad, and to give in. Amalrik gives us every movement, thought, emotion, trick, and even, occasionally, humour of the period from just before his arrest until his return to Moscow in 1966. Readers may feel that giving such detail is not absolutely necessary but one of Amalrik's motives in writing the book may well have been to illuminate the darker corners of bureaucratic incompetence.

The essay *Will the Soviet Union Survive Until 1984?* … pages of the book. The … the volume consists of … neous papers and letters … essay by Henry Kamm … trait of a Dissenter … little, and another … Vision of the End … Monas, which is interes… essential. Two of the … Amalrik, "I Want to be … Clearly" and "A Le… *Spiegel*", attempt to … rumour that he is a KG… the other is to Kuzhetsov … his decision to leave Rus…

Although *Will the Soviet Union Survive Until 1984?* is … political essay, it certainly … the future and crystal-ga… has its attractions. … Amalrik writes has been … Some of it may come … event Amalrik's descrip… lysis of the so-called … movement" is worth … He explains how the … workers could become … could bring greater … change and he also … factors likely to cause … ment" to stagnate: …

> Two of these factors … immediately. First the … tion from society of the … ent-minded and active … which has been going … has left an imprint of … mediocrity on all strata … this could not fail to be … "middle class" which … taking shape. . . . Second … the "middle class" which … recognizes the need for … reforms is also the second … imbued with the defe… "Well, there's nothing … anyway" or "You can't … wall by beating your head … The third factor, although … is most interesting. As it … any country the stratum … inclined towards change … independent action is the … state employees. . . . … since all of us work for … have the psychology of … workers.

POSTAGE: INLAND …

Time marches on

…ONY POWELL:
…*Do Furnish a Room*
… Heinemann. £1.75.

…y Powell's great sequence of … now begins to reach a point … narrative—the immediate post-… ars—not far short of the mom… which the whole scheme was …ed; that key passage at the …ng of *A Question of Upbringing* …e Jenkins stands rapt in con… …ion of mortality, aware sud… the patterns in which human … dance around him to the music … must have described an ex… …e belonging to the late 1940s. … early pages set a scheme and … osphere for the whole series … Mr. Powell has sustained with … traordinary determination and … ency over twenty years' writ… the same time, it would be … extraordinary if so intelligent … tenacious a writer, having so … a control of his means, had … eloped his art within such a … -allowed, perhaps, some sig… sea-change to occur as the … ears its completion (the novel … review is the tenth of the … projected twelve).

…*Do Furnish a Room* does, in …ed certain processes which … in the war novels and … pronounced in the last of *The Military Philosophers*: … been less to repent itself than … in a developing sequence of … its formal patterns modified … a more realistic untidiness. … whereas a bewildering array of … ers and episodes in the war … threatened at points to sub… the design, this first novel of … time trilogy splendidly re… the equilibrium. Although … ily and unmistakably part of … er scheme, it is probably the … -contained novel Mr. Powell … ten since the sequence was … a witty, sinister and original … of the postwar years, their … literary life in …

…ne thing, the author's gift for …, subtly detailed comic epi… and the development in depth of entirely new characters has returned to him. Erridge is dead. Conventional relatives and old left-wing cronies (including the rising Labour backbencher, Widmerpool) mingle weirdly at a funeral which combines the comic and the alarming with great brilliance—and culminates in Mrs. Widmerpool (née Pamela Flitton) vomiting into a vase of dubious value in a corridor: maintaining the talent for causing trouble which she showed as a child of six by being sick in the font at Stringham's wedding. "She seemed an appropriate attendant on death", Jenkins comments as she irrupts into Erridge's funeral service; and it is clear that Mrs. Widmerpool as an agent of destruction now commands her creator's imagination as thoroughly as her husband dominated it in the earlier books as a representative of striving and impregnable vanity. She has already destroyed Templer, in the last novel; here she ruins Mr. Powell's newest character, and a fine creation indeed, the bizarrely talented writer X. Trapnel, author of *Camel Ride to the Tomb*, a kind of outcast, unpolitical Orwell. She is the most striking guise assumed by mortality at a stage in Jenkins's life when youth is past, when friends and habits are being gloomily reshuffled, when it is a painful effort to recover identity after the upheavals of war, and when Melancholy—in all the forms listed and elaborated by Robert Burton (whom Jenkins is studying as his creator studied John Aubrey)—seems increasingly to waylay human effort and hopefulness. As always, Mr. Powell's observations of the particular melancholy of love-madness, which Mrs. Widmerpool inflicts with such arbitrariness, are unerring—a blend of detached exactitude and sardonic sympathy.

One need go no further than the concept of melancholy to find the theme which characterizes the later novels of *The Music of Time* and introduces into the comedy a seriousness not altogether promised by the original programme: in such a way, perhaps, have twenty years' work, developing the ideas which obsessed him at the start, led now to a finer, wiser, ultimately more serene view of human progress through the vicissitudes of existence. Sillery, the don intent on the power game he plays through his more influential students, is now a peer of the realm, publishing his ineffectual memoirs. Jenkins accords him not patronage, but a sort of genuinely affectionate pity. J. G. Quiggin, Howard Craggs (of the Vox Populi Press, and Boggis and Stone) and the new Bagshaw (whose nickname is the title of the novel) join together to launch a left-wing publishing house and an up-to-date literary magazizne. The hopes expire in a welter of personal conflicts, prosecutions and general mediocrity. But the atmosphere generated is one of a wise sadness rather than mockery or satire. Jenkins goes on a visit to his school and meets Le Bas, now well over eighty and acting as librarian. There is something of a feeling of wonder and respect at his sheer endurance, outlasting so many transient lives and fashions: Stringham's and Templer's lives in particular. Le Bas has even lived to see a son of the mysterious Akworth, disgraced by Widmerpool and expelled, coming to the school. Time has added a dimension of compassion to the theme which has in no way diminished the comic sharpness and resource; if anything, the new novel is a more finished, inventive and entertaining book on the purely comic level than several that have gone before, sustaining its humour through a series of scenes which rival in subtlety and surprise almost anything Mr. Powell has ever written. And the sea-change in his approach is possibly the most gratifying and heartening one that could have occurred: his comedy has become a high, serene art, increasingly able to encompass and interpret the gravest subjects, achieving and transcending the objectives he set himself at the beginning.

…he hot and the cold

…R BOWEN:
…tions
… Constable. £1.75.

…tions is a creditable first … but one that makes altogether … many concessions to the sort of … convenience which (in this … provides us with, on the one … scholarly, ascetic young man, … the other an emotionally … artist, so that their nicely … ical viewpoints can illuminate … from both sides. Morgan, an … ant, falls in love with Ruth, … g her "ordered and tidy" … producing in her a difficult … ive response.

…n's friend, Paul, views this …, with a good deal of … quiring only for himself … quil pursuit of knowledge … life lived according to the … of reason. . . .". In fact, … ole of the emotionally frigid … is somewhat overplayed at … on Mr. Bowen's undoubted … find a neat turn of phrase … bebber of him: "I concede … that complete absorption … two people can only last as … mutual narcissism and its … tions are found satisfying." … de the excuse for an indul… some icy epigrams—engag… urate for the most part, … his lengthier observations, … ously the result of careful … tion by Mr. Bowen. There is … ney, too, for the more … al parts of the narrative to … ched with less care than is … for Paul's pronouncements … heart-searchings of Morgan and Ruth, so that the complexities of the story are somewhat compromised by the kind of easy contrivance in which a train "shuddered to a halt" with "a great deal of clanking and squealing protest", or which has Ruth in that corniest of poses for a woman given to sensuous self-regard—naked before a full-length mirror.

What saves the novel from itself is, precisely, Mr. Bowen's insistent intelligence in dealing with the affair between Morgan and Ruth. Their equivocations and uncertainties give the book its depth and prove the honourability of Mr. Bowen's intentions even though, at times, he seems too eager to impress.

Little lessons

NICHOLAS ARMFELT:
Catching Up
245pp. Faber and Faber. £1.75.

There is a nicely organized sense of claustrophobic parochialism in Nicholas Armfelt's tale of a shy man shedding his long-maintained reserve amid the gutsy brashness of life in New Zealand. Leaving England, where until his thirty-third year he had remained a celibate non-smoking teetotaller, Graham Tarden takes up a teaching post in the rural township of Waitapa, where he soon finds himself, along with everyone else, bending his elbow during the five o'clock swill. What is more, he has begun to notice that his female pupils are altogether different from the male: a fact which is borne in on him at his first school social where he consolidates his position with the kids by dancing the twist.

The picture of New Zealand presented by Mr. Armfelt is a witty and amusingly condescending one: those who imagined that New Zealanders judged things as either crook or beaut, valued muscle above mind, persisted in calling each other cobber and named their children Lester, Murray, Bruce, Jeanette, Ngaio and Raewyn will have their suspicions confirmed. That over, though, the novel settles into an increasingly dull account of Graham's daily round, with the occasional hint that his newly discovered manhood is likely to be put to use on the willowy Melva Pilgrim—the pupil most likely to receive teacher's petting. The carefully catalogued activities at the school—sports day, socials, more socials, other sports days—and the hairy-chested naivety of teachers and parents alike soon begin to pall and only the most curious of readers will be concerned to discover whether Graham and Melva achieve their double first. The diurnal trivialities which initially provided some scope for gentle humour are, finally, made too much of, and Graham's little lesson in human affairs is too well camouflaged by them to make much impact.

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Not making it

DAN WAKEFIELD :
Going All the Way
307pp. Weidenfeld and Nicolson. £1.75.

Sonny Burns, the central figure in *Going All the Way*, is the sort of person everyone loves to sympathize with. Tubby, comically depressive, persistently leant on by life, he gets the kind of breaks that would leave him having sand kicked in his face *after* he'd taken the body-building course. Indeed, one of the attractive things about Sonny is his lugubrious and most often justified expectation of personal—principally sexual—failure; he knows when he's going to lose, but he *still* searches for the "fabulous girl at the party who he'd see across a crowded room and know was for him, and they'd madly embrace and live happily ever after".

Just out of the army, Sonny is on his way back to Naptown where his mother and her clean-living, self-castigating cronies from the local branch of M.R.A. lie in wait for his soul. During the journey, he falls in with Gunner Casselman, once a big man at Shortley High, now much changed by a spell in Japan. Once back in Naptown with its carefully nurtured prejudices, its "wonderful homes" and its Ron-D-Vu diner, Sonny and Gunner divide most of their time between the pursuit of a Meaningful Life and a search for more tangible, fleshly pleasures which: in Sonny's case, are provided with maddening insistence by the one girl he'd sooner forget.

Dan Wakefield weighs the scales in Sonny's disfavour to a degree which cleverly stops short of the disastrous, leaving him doleful though never pathetic. The note of drama towards the end of the book, when Sonny crashes the car in which he and Gunner are riding, finishes, typically enough, not with Sonny's death, but leaves him encased in plaster from scalp to waist: still plagued by his evangelical mother and the girl he thought he'd left behind, still thinking beautiful thoughts about the future. The likable thing about Sonny is his willingness to settle for second-best; what makes him human is the fact that he seems unlikely to get it.

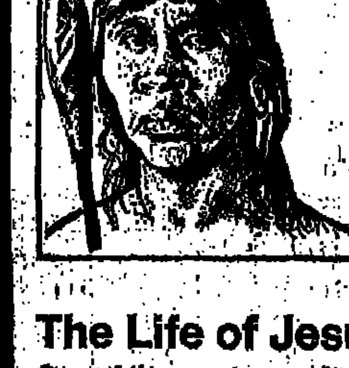
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Realistically romantic

SEAN O'FAOLAIN :
The Talking Trees
279pp. Cape. £1.75.
Stories of Sean O'Faolain
348pp. Penguin. Paperback, 40p.

"For any kind of realist", says Seán O'Faoláin, "to write about people with romantic souls is a most tricky and difficult business." Not that anyone who has had a sniff of these stories (which "like whiskey, must be allowed to mature in the cask") would believe Mr. O'Faoláin has tried very hard to be a realist about Ireland. Many years ago, after six years with the I.R.A., he recognized, he tells us, that the "beautiful, palpitating tea-rose souls" that inspired his idealistic fervour also possessed "hard, coolly calculating heads"; the national ambivalence he has since tried to define demands, he considers, the sober, occasionally angry, weapon of satire. But shamefaced confessions that he feels too fond, even besotted, on the subject of Ireland to maintain his detachment are not merely disingenuous—they are absurd; like many Russian writers, Mr. O'Faoláin both needs and expresses the spirit of his country in every sentence he writes; defection is unimaginable.

This is not to say that Dublin streets, remote seminaries, lonely bog cottages or dusk on Lough Derg are the only settings for his new collection of tales. There is a don's wife in Cambridge, Mass., who is "disoccupied" enough to welcome an old stranger one snowy night; but mutual recognition that both she, newly married and pregnant, and the old crone who once carried trays to prim Boston ladies in this house, are desperately homesick for a pot of tea beside the peat in County Clare provides the point of the story. On Lake Garda, shy and dowdy in her shawl and rose-painted black satin frock, Miss Gogan knowingly succumbs to the caddish charm of penniless Count Algardi, guessing (more slowly than the reader will) that he has got his eye on Doon Castle; what she does not understand is that he too needs his fantasy image, although he discovers about the p.g.s, the brown sitbaths, and dotty grand-aunt with her tortoise.

The title story, "The Talking Trees", like many of Mr. O'Faoláin's most characteristically "matured" dredgings of growing-up under the threat of a leathering from fresh-faced Brothers, is set in Cork; dashing Dick, already expelled from five famous Catholic boarding-schools, hatches a scheme to enlighten his friends on "the ultimate in female beauty"—"'You mean', Gong-Gong smiled fearfully, 'that she'll only be wearing her nightie?'"

Easily the best in the volume, "Brainsy" is another aspect of seminary life—a boozy, lonely failure tries teaching as a ... only to find that his old ... the passionate Joycean ... of a Dublin youth, has ... too as Brother Regis, a ... cher but far too ... especially after an accid... him, Lazarus-like, awar... "black darkness", lead... boys to chant "D.O.G. Go... God", and finally to ... swallows return over the ...

Such a figure, the bri... beautiful victim of ... missed or an unapprecia... tionary society, recurs in ... shape in many of Mr. O'F... stories: is it the nostalgic ... of a long and full life, in wh... of talent in those we ... begins to weigh more ... against the empty reward... world? Or is it perhaps ... reading some of the earlie... tenderly rhetorical tale... Penguin collected *Stories* ... —that Ireland seems, to th... love and agonize a lifetime ... romantic tragedy of it... symbolized by

an express train that start... heaven full of beautiful dr... marvellous ambitions and, ... bejasus, you switch off the ... down some sideline that b... back to exactly where you b... all your machinery falling ... you in bits, and even ... branded "What's-the-use-of-... thing-at-all?"

Coming to us

ELIZABETH CULLINAN :
House of Gold
328pp. Faber and Faber. £1.70

Mrs. Devlin is in her final coma at the beginning of *House of Gold*, lying prettily in her coffin at Diblo's Funeral Home by the end. The intervening hours are made to suggest—and Miss Cullinan does this with careful ferocity—the thorough dominion the old lady has always held over her family. Her husband and three of her nine children are dead. The rest—a priest, two nuns, a devoted married daughter, a soldier and the misfit youngest son—pay their respects as if whisperingly instructed how to by their mother. Shifting uneasily around her bedside, just forestalling those ugly outbursts of individuality she knew so well how to control, they grope towards an understanding of their loss.

Secretly reading the old woman's autobiography, a work of unmitigated vulgarity and self-congratulation, Mrs. Devlin's daughter-in-law reluctantly concedes that the old woman "had done something considerable—created a myth for them to inhabit, made them legendary characters to themselves".

It is the family house which best conveys Mrs. Devlin's sense of legend and grandeur, her monstrous egotism and the finally tawdry values she has passed on with such purpose and such graciousness. Even its three floors are able to suggest the heaven, purgatory and hell of her simple Catholic imagery. Detached and once genteel, it stands alone in an area of New York now shattered by traffic and a railway line and lowered by slums. The heating and the plumbing smell of rust and grind stolidly to the tune of advanced early twentieth-century engineering. Every express train which passes causes chipped statuettes to shiver on the radiators, holy water to leap from stoups, dried flowers to rustle in their gold-rimmed and fluted vases. Perforated fibre squares on the ceilings have made an amateurish ... dering the house soundpro... shrine Mrs. Devlin believed ... and which her children ar... able to admit it is not. S... Devlin's illness, a sour damp... grease have filmed the gilde... and the *fluttering* drape...

It is tempting to recom... richly gloomy now to ... Jewish mothers in need of ... At least their children ... to make jokes when ch... dismal business of being ... a mother. The effect, thoug... wonderfully controlled ... ligent novel is to make on... most of the values whi... families find necessary to ... hand on in order to conv... solves they are unique and ... The most dispiriting aspect ... Devlin's death is that it wi... neither her children nor he... children. It has served on... mind them, in the most ... sible way, that it comes to ... the end.

Nuclear chemistry

THOMAS McMAHON :
A Random State
246pp. Macmillan. £1.90.

The American title for this book was *Principles of American Nuclear Chemistry: A Novel*: it's not difficult to see why the English publishers decided to change it, but in many ways the original title is more apt, characterizing the effectively-produced tone of earnest investigation with which the narrator, Timmy McLaurin, looks back on his strange disruptive involvement with the men and women who helped to produce the first A-bomb. Timmy's father, an atomic physicist, is a member of the community which existed around the Los Alamos laboratories in the mid-1940s.

Looking back, Timmy recalls how his father, leaving a pregnant wife and taking with him Timmy and a fractious mistress, Maryann, made his trip to join the group of scientists engaged in the Manhattan project. One of the more telling points about this retrospective view is that Timmy is obsessed by events which, occurring as they did during his most impressionable years, have become enormously important to him, forming indelible memories which contain (although he is by no means sure *how*) the key to his present confusion; his father, on the other hand, has very good reasons for wanting to forget Los Alamos and Maryann, and the conflict embodied there provides much of the novel's clandestine tension.

Just as his father's emotional comfort lies in dissembling, so Timmy's search for equanimity lies in careful, examined recollection, and the uneasily fluctuating intensity of the near-triangular relationship between Timmy, his father and Maryann—together with their several relationships with others in the scientific community at Los Alamos—is gradually brought into perspective as the project nears completion. Timmy's narrative is an appropriate mixture of fondness, puzzlement and distress as he attempts to pick a purposeful path between the jumble of happy, confused and sinisterly disturbing events, all of which take place during the invention of a device so momentous that only Mr. McMahon's pointed neglect of it could amply convey its importance. The very small consideration ... A-bomb in Timmy's expe... those who helped develop i... effect of bringing its ... implications home without ... to overshadow his princip... tive concern: relationship... solved and, as yet, impro... derstood. *A Random St...* appealingly subtle and ... novel.

Anything new from Isaa... welcome, but *Benya Krik, ... ster, and other stories* (128... tine, Mitchell. £1.25) is a ... Avrahm Yarmolinsky's co... ten stories, which was first ... in the United States ... together with a postscript ... Author" coming down to ... has, of course, been ... superseded by Walter Mo... tion of *The Collected Sto...* contains fifty-seven stori... with Lionel Trilling's ... duction, and which has be... able in Penguin Books for ... What is really needed ... fresh collection incorpo... new stories which have ... in recent years.

More colour than events

...N UNTERECKER :
...er: A Life of Hart Crane
... Anthony Blond. £5.

...ssive book is the product of ...ear pursuit. They were ten ...of delving deep among the ...ous Hart Crane relics in ...an university libraries; of ...e audiences with surviving ...nd cousins; of conversations ...respondence with more than ...ed of Crane's friends from the ...of literature, the arts, and the ...forms of metropolitan enter...nt; and of the seeking out of ...ater numbers of "other men ...men", from Ohio to Mexico, Hollywood to Paris, who had ...e faintest recollections of the ... The result is the story, told in ... than 770 pages of text, of a ...ich may have been flamboyant, ...ich was relatively uneventful. ...ich was ended at the age of ...thirty-two—770 pages during ...the author seldom wanders ...s straight biographical path ...rary criticism or complex his...solling.

...er must become the standard ...hy of Hart Crane for the ...ble future. Professor Unter...research has been so thorough ...multifarious that it is almost ...ble to imagine any new mate...ming to light which would ...ially affect, let alone super...e narrative here presented. ...and reminiscences have been ...d dry to reveal the tasks, the ...e moods, the antics, and the ...d pains of weeks, days, even ...s;

...d briefly to Jean Toomer and ...Munson, who offered him a ...introduction for a possible ...job with Henry McBride; he ...e Loveman for dinner and for ...alk on which he talked out his ...about his mother and his ...er.

...uld seem to be few gaps in ...traced life that remain to ...few hours unaccounted for ...it still hold secrets. There ...annot be much else to ...aid to tell.

...more, the sources of direct ...ion, from whom Professor ...er has drawn so fully, are ...appearing in the natural ...of things, since Crane, ...early forty years, would ...ve been in his seven... ...those who remember ...milar or greater age. Many ...friends and acquaintances ...e author has consulted have ...ing the past decade; and ...be few other living people ...y distinctive memory of ...ng have not been traced ...the 1969 American edition ...t forth one such, as a ...(...). Hence, the present ...strong proof against supersession, at least at the level of basic information. In the likely absence of new matter, any future biographer will have to concentrate on new interpretations of character and behaviour.

Professor Unterecker is an unobtrusive narrator who is often content either to let Crane speak for himself through his letters or to let others give their version of events in anecdote, correspondence, or diary. In this way we follow Crane through his fierce wranglings and frail reconciliations with both his divorced parents; through the harsh alternatives of unsatisfying employment and financial dependence upon friends; through his persistent minor, but dispiriting illnesses; through the usual ravages and occasional delights of his many homosexual relationships; through his increasingly violent and self-destructive alcoholism; until his final decision to cast himself into oblivion, leaping into that sea whose imagery had pervaded so much of his poetry. But in the midst of however much chaotic activity and emotional confusion, the most constant element in his life was his passionate devotion to literature, whether as excited reader or as ecstatic writer.

The outlines of that unfortunate story must now be quite well known. Strangely, for all its immense size, *Voyager* will not yield many surprises to those who have some previous knowledge of Crane's life, either from the pioneer biographies of Philip Horton or Brom Weber, or from Weber's edition of *The Letters*, or from some of the more recent critical studies of the poet. Its far greater bulk and comprehensiveness are chiefly a matter of minutiae and the confirmation in detail of events and general characteristics already disclosed.

Merely by publishing certain correspondence, however, Unterecker does challenge the conventional and sentimentally tempting notion of Crane as the suffering and long-suffering son of a callous and mean-minded father. His father may have been in many respects an orthodox subscriber to the moral complacencies and competitive brutalities of the business ethic; and he may also have seriously misunderstood and thus damaged his quite differently talented son. But there are times when he emerges as a man of considerable decency and dignity; just as there are times when his son can be charged with a shocking insensitivity towards his parent, especially on the occasion of the latter's profound grief over the death of his second wife. Coincidentally, Crane's first volume of poems was published during those months of her fatal illness, and with the megalomaniac egocentricity and blindness to ordinary human emotion of which "the Artist" is sometimes capable, he seems to have assumed that this literary event ought to have held as much significance for his father as did the incurable condition of his wife. Though there were often sound reasons for Crane's hard feelings towards his father, and though there were periods of good will and touching sympathy between the two men, it is evident from such instances (in telling which Professor Unterecker is too ready to exonerate the poet) that not all the sensitivity belonged to the "artistic" son rather than to the "commercial philistine" father.

Perhaps the most important literary fact to be revealed by *Voyager* is Crane's own recognition, expressed in a previously unpublished letter, that *The Bridge* was inherently an open-ended poem which might "turn into something like the form of *Leaves of Grass*, with a number of editions, each incorporating further additions". As it is, the poem has often been criticized for its lack of coherence and unity, for the good reason that it was presented by its author to the public as a structure, completed (even if hastily) and unified (even if loosely). Crane's mistake, hinted at in this letter, was to force and hurry himself into giving the form of a finished artefact to a poem that was naturally ongoing and accrescent, like other distinctively American poems by indirect descendants of Whitman, such as Pound's *Cantos*, Williams's *Paterson*, Zukofsky's *A*, and Olson's *Maximus Poems*. It was a mistake that of course he might have rectified in some way, had he allowed himself to live.

Voyager will be an indispensable reference work for the student of Crane; and the fascinating story it has to tell of a man who was with equal certainty both genius and extreme neurotic can assuredly be recommended to the general reader. Professor Unterecker writes pleasantly, unpretentiously, and in a manner that is easily readable. But beyond that it has to be said that he has interpreted the task of the biographer in terms that are both pedestrian and narrow. He has made very little attempt to see Crane in any wide cultural context, to discover his intellectual heritage, American and international, and to relate it to his art, to his life, and to his death. Nor is there any real sense of the historical time during which Crane lived, of the social and political moment. (Crane himself may indeed have been notoriously uninterested in politics and consequently able to respond to the beginnings of the Depression in only the most personal terms; but Professor Unterecker never really stops to consider the causes and effects of this total depoliticization, nor the extent to which it has been significantly representative of American intellectual life.)

Finally, in addition to this absence of broad cultural and historical dimensions, there is also an absence of literary criticism. Now and again Professor Unterecker strays into explication and appraisal, and certainly his remarks upon the very obscure poem, "Passage", are particularly useful. But in his text he finds no room to mention any of the anguished pieces (admittedly fragmentary and unpolished) of the last year of Crane's life in Mexico, nor such fine, desolate poems as "Key West" and "Island Quarry", nor the rhetorical tour de force, "Atlantis", the finale of *The Bridge*, nor even that loveliest of lyrics, "Repose of Rivers", which received extravagant praise from Yvor Winters, who was in other respects such a severe critic of Crane. It is strange that a life of a poet may be written at such length with no reference to some of his best poems and with scant mention of others. But perhaps it is no less strange than its more familiar, exact opposite—namely, that criticism which determinedly shuts its eyes to the man behind the art.

Voyager takes us on a voyage in what is an historical and almost an aesthetic limbo; but, this defect or peculiarity recognized, it is a voyage well navigated, a voyage worth joining.

Elephant

On an old dye-printed plate
An elephant with a blue shadow
Walks where a child tows.

Because this plate is very old
Its depths are warped, the elephant's shadow
Tinged with indigos.

One sees in the deepest part
Of such old printed plates
Sadness congealed like glaze.

The shadow of loneliness
Trails outside the plate
In a blue unhappy haze.

And in the evening, when the sun
Lowers in the skies,
Sadness, as the elephant's shadow
Shrinks, intensifies.

MURO SASEI
Translated by Graeme Wilson

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Decomposition of France

IN November, 1870 Gobineau wrote to a German friend and told him that he was engaged on a study of the reasons for the French defeat in the war against Prussia. Later, in 1871, he again refers to this work, which would explain the Commune and what was to follow. Doubtless, remembering that *L'Essai sur l'Inégalité des races* had been almost immediately in France but had received long and detailed reviews in Germany, he was considering finding a German publisher. But this work was never published in his lifetime. There was a German edition in 1918; some extracts appeared in the review *Europe* in 1923; and the present attractive and illustrated edition, accompanied by interesting and useful comments, is therefore the first complete publication. The manuscript, which is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire at Strasbourg, may be incomplete, but it seems likely that Gobineau did not finish the work and that his subsequent writings on the Third Republic and on the revolutionary instinct in France were revisions of his attempt to explain the contemporary state of France.

Like so much that Gobineau wrote, *Ce qui est arrivé à la France* is a bad-tempered and violent piece. The Franco-Prussian War had come at a difficult moment in his life, when he was seeking to find a more congenial diplomatic post than Rio, in what he called "cet infernal Brésil". As Conseiller-Général in the Oise department he had witnessed the arrival of German troops and he had negotiated with them. He had gone to Paris to discuss his locality's contribution to the indemnity as well as to talk about his own future, and while there he had witnessed the Commune. He had, in his letters, shown a certain oscillation in his opinions about what was going to happen (although he was always anxious to appear to have been a good prophet). He was bitter about his own lack of recognition in France, he still nourished hopes of being elected to the Academy, and there were various other personal preoccupations which were making this an unhappy time for him.

Yet the tone of his writing is not to be explained purely in personal terms. He had always been a pessimist in his analysis of what was happening in France, and 1870 was a confirmation for him of many of his early impressions. His only surprise was the speed and the completeness of the disaster. And for Gobineau, 1870 was a disaster of unparalleled magnitude. France had not lost a battle: it was as if France had lost her civilization. Even the ancient monarchies of Asia which could perish overnight had not known any similar catastrophes. French generals had been shown to be ignorant and boastful; the army had no discipline; the population, reputedly warlike, was in fact lazily pacific and stupidly resigned to disaster; the inhabitants of the towns had displayed savagery, melodrama, wickedness and inefficiency, all in the name of patriotism. "Voilà ce qu'est la France, voilà ce qu'est devenu le patrimoine de Philippe Auguste, de Saint Louis, de Louis XIV." For Gobineau, it was obvious that it was not simply because of a few talented Prussian officers that such a situation could be brought about. The decomposition of the country could only be internal in origin.

Nor should the common and facile explanation, that all the ills of France dated from 1789, be accepted. Gobineau said that one of the purposes of his book was to reject that way of thinking. He maintained that there was nothing special about 1789. The French Revolution was the simple continuation of what all the great ministers and all the great monarchs of the Ancien Régime had sought to do. They had all worked to make the state omnipotent. It was true that the Revolution had been more violent. It was true too that it had been more successful, since, while Louis XIV had occasionally been forced to give way to some province or town, the Convention had been able to identify itself completely with the state. It was also true that the construction of the state had continued, since the Empire had strengthened it, the Restoration and the July Monarchy had polished it, and the regime of 1852 had guaranteed its perpetuity by inventing universal suffrage.

Yet it was the whole process of French history which was responsible for this state. It was a profound mistake to atcribute too much importance to the so-called "principes de 1789". There were disagreements about who should control and possess the state ("cette omnipotence, cette omniscience"), since there were those who wanted a king, those who wanted a king and two chambers, those who wanted two chambers and a president, those who wanted a dictator and an army of liberated workers. But these were only disagreements and differences of detail. There was general agreement about the essential, that is to say the existence of an absolute state, the abolition of all provincial, communal and individual rights, the establishment of a great capital which would absorb the resources as it would organize the activities of the whole country.

It is this bureaucratic state which Gobineau saw as the prime fact in explaining what had happened in France. But he directed his attention to another phenomenon, which is linked to the growth of the state: the national vanity of France. He wondered how this grew up, since he does not find it present at the beginning of the seventeenth century ("On ne s'enferme nullement à Paris, ni en France"). It is only subsequently that the personality of Louis XIV ("plein de sa gloire, ne voulant que sa gloire, ne rêvant que sa gloire, imposant sa gloire à tout ce qu'il pouvait atteindre") awakened and flattered this secret instinct of the nation. France saw herself as the sun-nation, the universe became a planetary system in which it was France which was in the first place. After Louis XIV, the same vanity characterized the eighteenth century. In terms of administration, organization, and finance, France was collapsing. But Frenchmen were convinced that all Europe thought, spoke and reasoned *à la française*. The colonies were lost, but Voltaire and his friends could drink to the disaster of Québec; the French armies were beaten, but it was known that Frederick and Catherine really admired the wits of Paris. Thus it was that France became a solitary country in Europe, disengaging herself from what was real, and earning the hatred of her neighbours because of her violence and vanity.

These are the themes which Gobineau developed. He insisted on the necessary lifelessness of the bureaucratic state and on its urbanization. Once [illegible] triumphant, then it [illegible] since contradiction is [illegible] social organization is [illegible] There is no loyalty [illegible] salaried officials; the [illegible] contemporary France [illegible] ning to resemble officials [illegible] had been cut off from [illegible] the rural communities [illegible] as the official wanted [illegible] peasant wanted his [illegible] nothing else mattered. [illegible] ernments of France [illegible] lived in the illusion that [illegible] made themselves popular; [illegible] they had been dismissed [illegible] complained of ingrate [illegible] worker, even when he [illegible] and fed, had no sense of [illegible] closer can surely expect some [illegible] effort from the publishers? [illegible] from the caption on the front [illegible] of each volume —" ENGLISH [illegible] MAGAZINES No. 3; edited by [illegible] Bloomfield "—there is no evid[illegible] of editorial attention of any [illegible] There is no editorial introduc[illegible] There is not even an index to [illegible] tributors.

[illegible] presents difficulties to the [illegible] in the 1970s. It will present [illegible] difficulties to the scholar in [illegible] 90s. An important area of [illegible] ty is in the editorial conduct [illegible] review. *Left Review* was [illegible] d, late in 1934, by the novel[illegible] critic Montagu Slater, [illegible] Williams-Ellis, and Tom [illegible] gham. (In May, 1938, a brief [illegible] ative article associated with [illegible] here the names of Ralph Fox [illegible] gell Rickword.) Sole editor[illegible] was taken over, in January, [illegible] by Rickword (himself a vet[illegible] of the *Calendar of Modern* [illegible]), and he continued in office [illegible] July, 1937, when Randall [illegible] succeeded him. Swingler [illegible] ed as editor until the review [illegible] abruptly and inexplicably, [illegible] in May, 1938. A new and [illegible] ambitious monthly review was [illegible]

[illegible] promised as successor; but no such [illegible] review appeared, unless (eventually) [illegible] the more populist *Our Time* comes [illegible] to mind.

So much is at least partially clear. Other matters are not. There were several references along the way to the reorganization and extension of the editorial board; but the actual names of the board were never published. Ralph Fox chaired a contributors' conference in April, 1935, and claimed a circulation of 3,000, but for the next three years there is no information. There were clearly some slight shifts in editorial influence. Mrs. Williams-Ellis, whose main contribution appears to have been the organization of competitions which encouraged some interesting "worker writers", was less evident after the first year. Greybeards among us will remember that Tom Wintringham took part in the Spanish Civil War (writing *English Captain*), was suspected of (feminine) Trotskyist contamination, broke with the Communist Party over its initial attitude to the war, advocated the preparation in Britain of guerrilla warfare and helped to found the Common Wealth Party. The Spanish War severed other contributors from the review more abruptly: Ralph Fox being only one of seven or eight mortal casualties.

Left Review was a communist literary journal, though it operated not as the internal organ of a sect but as a national review, in the presence of a national public, drawing upon many non-communists among its contributors. The point must be clearly made, because two erroneous stereotypes are sometimes encountered. According to one, *Left Review* was an arena where contributors vented their callow leftist juvenilia before arriving, by various paths, at reputable anti-communist maturity. According to the other, *Left Review* was a communist fox in the lamb's clothing of the Popular Front, luring the innocent liberals into its literary lair.

With the whole run together it is possible to see the falsity of both stereotypes, or for the second, nearly all the editors were well known as communists (Wintringham had been one of the British communist leaders tried in 1925), and there was never any attempt at the least woolly disguise. Non-communists contributed—one notices the good-humoured grimaces of Eric Gill and of Herbert Read—because they wished to do so, and because they respected the communist editors enough to wish to argue in the same pages.

An examination of the first stereotype brings more interesting results. One is impressed, less by the number of the now-reputable and orthodox who committed youthful indiscretions in these pages (there are of course some of these), but by the solid majority of contributors who evinced and, in some cases, still evince a lifetime of commitment to the left; and who, while some of them may have broken at this point or that any ties they had with the Communist Party, never signalled that their revolutionary zeal had failed. This is true of the editors; and among contributors one notices A. L. Lloyd, Douglas Garman, Alick West, J. D. Bernal, Jack Lindsay, Hugh MacDiarmid, James Boswell, Allen Hutt, Alan Bush, A. L. Morton, I. D. Klingender, L. A. Jackson, Thomas Hodgkin, Dona Torr, Nancy Cunard, and Thomas Russell. The settled tenacity with which some of this group maintained a commitment, over thirty or forty years, to a defined political and intellectual position recalls the tenacity of some eighteenth-century dissenters. Nor is this true only of those very close to the communist intellectual orbit. It is true of other writers, who defined themselves at other points on the left: in the second number (November, 1934) Storm Jameson wrote a stinging open letter "To a Labour Party Official", from her standpoint as a constituency worker, whose drift could be endorsed by thousands (and perhaps still by its author) today.

There were also birds of passage, of course. These were not to be distinguished from their companions by the brilliance of their plumage, the originality of their flight; neither Cecil Day Lewis nor Stephen Spender contributed any of their more substantial poems to the review, and their lucubrations on the artist and society are among the contributions one more gladly skips. Nor were they wooed to stay and nest. The regular contributors fixed them, rather, with the eye of the teacher, now patronizing, now reproving. Spender's (unimpressive) *Forward from Liberalism* illustrated "that the fact that the author has not intellectually come very far forward from Liberalism is not due to any insincerity, but only to insufficient thinking, lack of familiarity with the basic works of Marxism". Day Lewis, wrote another reviewer, "is still far from an understanding of Marxism".

How far, then, did a proper understanding of Marxism vitalize the contributions of the editors and their collaborators? *Left Review* did have vitality, pace, and style; successive editors handled their materials with competence; the bold cartoons and drawings of Boswell, Filton, Holland and others emphasized hard moral definitions; stories and reportage (James Hanley, Ralph Bates, George Garrett) were sometimes too "message" but are generally well-observed and economically written; there is a broadening internationalism—the reader was introduced, perhaps for the first time, to Mayakovsky, Brecht, Malraux.

All this is much, and may come in the future to seem more, when readers are less oppressed by historical hindsight; when they are more ready to perceive the enlargement of sympathies and the originality of themes (as compared with any literary movement of the 1920s) and less sensitive to the blight laid upon this promise by the encroachment of doctrinal Stalinism within the review.

Even so, *Left Review* was weakened by a certain staccato style, which never paused long enough to lay down intellectual or creative foundations for the felt. Few contributions were as long as 3,000 words; hence more substantial work was drained off elsewhere—perhaps to *New Writing*, or *Modern Quarterly*, or the *Fact* pamphlets, or to Unity Theatre productions. The most original communist critic of the 1930s, Christopher Caudwell, never contributed in his lifetime; any one of his *Studies in a Dying Culture* would have been too long.

Moreover the review, like radical and socialist periodicals before and

Organizing the left

Left Review, October 1934-May 1938
8 volumes. Cass. £48 the set

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JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL STATISTICAL SOCIETY

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after it, was continually under two heavy, unrelenting, and related pressures; the pressure of immediate, urgent political responsibility, and the pressure upon the editors of a loyal, enthusiastic readership (upon whom its circulation and finances rested), eager to offer imperious and contradictory advice. "We don't want so much of this belly-aching psychology", growled one contributor (a seaman) at the first *Left Review* conference. *Left Review* should become "a kind of working-class *Tit-bits* after the style of *New Masses*", demanded another. "Simplification and again simplification", demanded a third. There is a "lack of position, direction, purpose", complained the *Daily Worker*. No wonder there was a note of desperation in Montagu Slater's reply to such critics. One of the functions of *Left Review*, he wrote,

> is to begin to catch up the leeway of forty years' stoppage of Marxist theory in England. There has been a good deal of talk at *Left Review* conferences and elsewhere about the uselessness of intellectuals (a slogan less fitted to revolutionary thought than to fascist lack of thinking). What *Left Review* should say to intellectuals is: Intellect is what we want more than most things! To the intelligentsia: Be intelligent!

Slater, Rickword, Swingler consistently maintained this sense of intellectual function. The pressure upon them, according to folklore, was not only that of that section of their readership who had only the most limited utilitarian notion of a review; it came also from the apparatus of the party at King Street, which judged the usefulness of the review only as an organizing medium.

But the pressures were within themselves also. As the menace of European fascism grew taller (and as Stalinism hardened within the international communist movement) there is a sense of growing doctrinal inhibition in the review. Douglas Garman, a former editor of the *Calendar of Modern Letters*, was still writing in early numbers (for example, in a review of Eliot's *After Strange Gods*) as if there were an argument to conduct, sharply, with precision, in the face of a public. In later numbers commination against bourgeois decadence sufficed. When, midway through the review's life, Herbert Read came forward (reviewing T. A. Jackson's *Dialectics*) to suggest, without the least rancour, that Marxist anthropology and social psychology were in need of development, the argument was simply closed by Jackson: "Nothing has been brought to light in either field which in the least shakes either Marx's fundamental premises or his basic conclusions." Towards the end of the review's history, the appearance of L. C. Knights's truly seminal *Drama and Society in the Age of Jonson* was met, in a review of sustained hostility, by Alick West: "A doubt of the relevance of Marxist analysis, not merely to literature, pervades the book." Knights's courteous and open reply to West, in which he attempted to continue a discussion, dropped into silence.

The silence, perhaps, of paranoia — he who is not for me . . . A psychological deformation which, with a great deal less justification, is very evident in some sections of the intellectual left to this day, and which, more than anything else, prevents them from either developing their ideas or communicating what ideas they have to an uncommitted public. What is interesting is that the founders of *Left Review*, in 1934-5, very rarely used this tone. Both Slater and Wintringham wrote with a well-informed muscular middlebrow fluency, while Ralph Fox avoided doctrinal cant absolutely and could on occasion (as in two essays, one on monarchy, the other on a single day's issue of the *Daily Express*) write with a lyrical, highly modulated polemic—feinting, dancing, jabbing—reminiscent of Hazlitt. Fox was surely, like other editors and contributors, a "premature revisionist", who would have understood instantly and made common cause with Wazyk and Kolakowski in 1956. Indeed, one can see the battle-lines being drawn as early as October and November, 1935. Francis Klingender let loose a severe, abstraction-laden doctrinal reproof against Slater, which, taking off from differing judgments of the merit of Tsapline's sculpture, escalated into a general theory of Marxist art criticism:

> The Marxian critic must convince [the abstract artist] that only the class struggle pervading every sphere of our existence, only the aim of the working class to establish a new social order can enable him to find vital content for art to-day.

This (and much more) brought the light of polemic to Fox's eyes. In a furious assault ("Abyssinian Methods") he unloaded upon Klingender his pent-up fury at the whole doctrinal emaciation of language and of sensibility:

> Mr. Klingender is sure that the best way to "help" Tsapline is to tell him he is a misguided bourgeois with a very, very naughty tendency towards carving molluses and fishes. I am sure the best way to help Mr. Klingender would be to deprive him of pen and ink for the rest of his life. . . . Where in all this conception is dialectic? In this horrible jumble of rigid moral and sociological conceptions, where is the idea of inner development, where the real connection between form and content?

It was Fox's last article for the *Review*; just over a year later he was killed in action on the Córdoba front.

These "severe pseudo-Marxists", Slater commented in the same controversy, "renounce life like puritans". But, in the end, puritanism closed in. The reason is not to be attributed—as the pseudo-Trotskyist explanation now so prevalent and so fashionable would have it—solely to the evil genius of Stalinis[m] . . . the actual evil of the ti[me] . . . not unrelated to that gov[ernment] . . . at Córdoba, and to so[me] . . . deaths, in Spain, in G[ermany], Italy around the world . . . China to Brazil", the Re[view] . . . rialized in August, 1936, . . . being oppressed, tortured . . . for their opinions with . . . and on a wider scale than . . . ever knew, even at the . . . of religious persecution" . . . final year of the review the . . . the imminence of war, . . . urgency of the times, . . . pervasive: the contribu[tors] . . . like men gesticulating . . . which is being carried to[wards the] rapids.

In such a contest the h[. . .] the review simply as an o[. . .] intellectual opinion for [. . .] political urgencies inev[itably en]grossed all other functi[ons . . .] kind of political (or huma[n] . . . sibility was a sufficient [. . .] creative and intellectual . . . even if it had not been . . . doctrinal sclerosis. Look[ing] across thirty-odd years . . . that one should ask of *Left* . . . what lasting additions d[id . . .] the cultural sum, or, i[n a] limited view, to the su[m of] socialist intellectual tradi[tion . . .] doubt the editors of the . . . ary *New Left Review* . . . they acknowledged any . . . all shake their élitist . . . answer, "very little".

But, after the first [. . .] doubts whether editors or . . . tors expected to be judged . . . to such a function. They . . . back down a tradition, but . . . sea to Germany and S[pain . . .] forward to the next Wo[rld War] . . . Increasingly they saw the[mselves as] activists, mobilizing a . . . public opinion. If this . . . could be shown to have b[een effec]tive enough to have con[tributed at] this point or that, to the . . . defeat of fascism, they wa[ould prob]ably have found *Left R[eview* to] have fulfilled its fun[ction. The] weight of this political . . . so great that it meant fo[r] . . . them, the death or the . . . their own creative . . . recognize a communal . . . Randall Swingler," is . . . once to a claim which . . . desperately hard and . . . gerous to answer." (It is . . . editorship of the review . . . have entailed, for both . . . and Swingler, a creative . . . sion.) As for the revolu[tion]alist tradition, they see[m, increas]ingly, less concerned to . . . than to preserve the hum[an . . .] tions within which it co[uld in the] end be once again affirmed.

Of the major editors . . . good grey poet, Edgell Ri[ckword, is] still with us. He should h[ave written] his own account of the[se years,] an introduction to this . . . us hope that, in one . . . another, he still will.

Conscientious civilians

The Tribunal

Numbers 1-182: March 8th, 1916-January 8th, 1920.

Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus. $75.

The reprint of the complete run of *The Tribunal* from copies recently acquired by Professor John Slater is particularly welcome because the journal not only provides a quarry for historians and sociologists but to an unusual degree self-consciously produced its own history. Both the final issue of January 8, 1920, and the issue of March 8, 1916, give summaries of the history of the No-Conscription Fellowship and its fight against state coercion of individual morality.

The No-Conscription Fellowship arose out of a letter in the I.L.P. paper *The Labour Leader*. Though it represented many shades of opinion, it was broadly the creation of Quaker and socialist idealism loosely united in a stand on the sanctity of human life. As the final issues show, it was not an alliance likely to survive the pressures of actual war. As soon as the war ended it is abundantly clear from *The Tribunal* that it had become a forum for incompatible opinions, notably between those who disbelieved in war as such, and those for whom the only just war was the last battle against capitalism. As the strict pacifists eventually complained, there is a steady drift towards the leftward position.

The Tribunal is interesting for many reasons. At times it is tragically funny. It carefully documents events, and conveys especially well the psychology of militarism and of anti-militarism. It sets out the whole range of argument which can be deployed on this most complex and difficult of ethical issues. For the sociologist there is provided a case-study of the internal strains of a group under the pressures of isolation and contumely. Most of the humour is in the early issues documenting the mutual incomprehension exhibited in the short and perfunctory hearings afforded by tribunals. Take this:

> Member of Tribunal—"D[o you] mean to say you [. . .] anybody?"
> Applicant—"Yes."
> Member of Tribunal—"W[hat] state of mind to be in!"

—or this:

> Member of Tribunal—"Di[d not] Christ use a whip to dri[ve them] from the Temple?"
> Applicant—"Yes, but [. . .] them."
> Member of Tribunal—"[. . .] done if he'd had a gun."

The major concern . . . issues is with the belie[f of the] many tribunals that the[y were] empowered to grant abso[lute exemp]tion and with the relate[d misunder]standing which identified . . . as necessarily an ext[ension of reli]gious belief. The . . . summarized by one of . . . Representatives on . . . defined conscience as " . . . do with religion." . . . journal documents . . . cern with cases of . . . bad prison conditi[ons] . . .

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[Wi]ghtmore, Gray, and Firth are [in]dicative of the mixture of muddle [an]d vicious local prejudice which [resu]lted in considerable suffering for [obj]ectors. As Dr. John Rae has [rece]ntly shown in his *Conscience [and] Politics*, this muddle and prejudice varied greatly from area to [area]. Eventually, however, in 1917 [*The*] *Tribunal* is able to note a [chang]e in opinion. The first Russian [Revo]lution, the Stockholm Conference, general war-weariness and evidence of the nature of Allied war-[aims b]ring about increasing support [from] a section of organized Labour [and] from the Churches. Indeed, [thou]gh *The Tribunal* lambasts [officia]l Christianity, a count of the [religi]ous leaders and bishops named [as giv]ing the objector some degree [of su]pport is impressive: Barnes, [. . .], Maude Royden, Selbie, [. . .]ord, Campbell Morgan, Booth, [. . .]r, and many others. The con[clud]ing issues are partly concerned [with t]he release of those objectors [still h]eld and with the melancholy [recor]d of death (largely from pneu[moni]a) and of serious illness.

The argumentative style of *The Tribunal* appears to shift from a somewhat Tolstoyan position, juxtaposing the Sermon on the Mount with official state religion, towards an emphasis on capitalism. Always, of course, there is an irresistible urge to place the major share for international wickedness at the door of Britain, an attitude which caused embarrassment to those pacific Germans anxious to prove that on the contrary their own government was largely to blame. Pacifists maintained that if the war were indeed against Prussianism then there were many signs of Britain itself becoming Prussianized in the process. Bertrand Russell's attacks on politicians were not untypical, but the touch of triumphant perversity he added ended in his prosecution. The authorities were not prepared to stomach the suggestion that England would acquiesce in the shooting down of strikers by its "American garrison".

The exchanges over the future of the N.C.F. are instructive. It was possible to broaden its basis to include a wider range of those causes appealing to the liberal conscience; or it could continue as a social club. But the fissures were too great. Strict pacifists had been quick to note that leftwing regimes were inclined to introduce universal peacetime conscription into Citizen Armies. Similarly they noted that a new basis of coercive and violent dictatorship was forming behind the notion that the organs of the working class could do no wrong. Revolutionaries were calling for a struggle in which those who refused to fight would be condemned as treacherous bystanders. In the end it was almost realized that mere liberalism and battered, corrupted Christianity treated the objectors better than any other regime. One rather pathetic letter is symptomatic of the problem of unity among dissidents. The author called on everyone to drop their "isms" and unite in the pursuit of Truth. He was in a minority of one.

[W]hat the papers said

[IAN] WILLIAMS (Editor):

[News]papers of the First World War

[Newt]on Abbot: David and Charles [. . .]nts. £12.60. (£10.50 until [. . .] 1971)

[. . .t]he press reported a war illumin[ates t]he period in which it was fought. [Edward]ian England, only half awake [from] the long, peaceful sleep that [follow]ed the fall of Napoleon, was [shocke]d by the exposures of military [muddl]e that William Russell sent [from t]he Crimea to *The Times*. The [freedo]m from censorship and official [. . .]ading he enjoyed has made [him th]e envy of all later war corres[ponde]nts. Down to the end of the [ninete]enth century, reporters roamed [more] or less loose at the fronts in [. . .]campaigns and sometimes suf[fered for] their enterprise. Riding [ahead] of a main body of British [troops] in the Taiping rebellion, [Thom]as William Bowlby, *The Times* [man] on the spot, fell into a Chinese [ambu]sh and was slowly tortured to [death]. More fortunate, Winston [Chur]chill of the *Morning Post* [ro]de with the cavalry at Omdurman and saw action in South Africa [with n]o worse consequences than a [spell i]n a Boer prison. Such licence [for the] reporter, in or out of uniform, did not survive the hostility in [which] the politicians and brass hats [ag]reed at least on one point—[war] correspondents ought to be [sho]t on sight. It took another [. . .] war to establish eye-witness [report]ing as a necessary service to [which t]he public at home had a right. [The] changes of attitude towards [the pr]ess in wartime make newspa[per do]cuments valuable to the histo[rian as] much for what they leave out [as for] their contents. During the [First W]orld War they are significant [for the]ir discreet blackouts less than [for the] veiled glimpses they give of [reality]. Something of this can be [seen in] *Newspapers of the First [World] War*: it reproduces pages [from E]nglish, Irish and American [dailies a]nd Sundays from August [1914, j]ust before the lights went [out, to] June, 1919, and the signing [of peac]e at Versailles. It opens with [the pers]onal column of *The Times* [. . .] advertisements that now [read iron]ically: "Shooting—wanted [. . .]ful guns for excellent mixed [. . .] Norfolk: large bag partridges, [. . .]t, wild duck. Shooting two [days a f]ortnight." How soon before [. . .] careful guns were getting [to] shoot, free, seven days and [. . .] week?

[So]on as the fighting began a [. . .]as being built up, not to be [d]ispelled until Blunden, Owen and Sassoon showed [the rev]erse side of Brooke's silver[. . .]ound. Readers of *The Times* [. . . Sept]ember, 1914, were given this [cheer]ing assurance:

> [. . . m]ilitary correspondent today [. . .] the high spirits of our men, [. . .], which is natural, [. . .] power of enjoy[ment . . .] at best, only [. . .]

Judgments exposing the fallibility of leader writers appear. On May 7, 1915, the *Manchester Guardian* was convinced that "we can win through the Dardanelles". Much play is made with the atrocities of the enemy—"Hun Butchers" and the barbarism of the U-Boats. The impact of the sinking of the Lusitania on American public opinion is vividly brought out. Even the staid *New York Times* gave the story streamer headlines. A natural remoteness from the wars of Europe marks some of the American papers reproduced. They have a relaxed period air. "Your Fall hat", predicts the *Los Angeles Examiner*, "may be a Knox, a Borsalino or a Knapp-Felt." The *New York Tribune* draws attention to "patent vamp" spring boots that are the fashion for women.

Items of news away from the front are rewarding in the English press. The *Daily Mirror* has front-page pictures headed, "'All Germans must go' said the City, while the crowd rioted in the East End", and exults in the hunting down of alien butchers trying to get meat supplies in Smithfield:

> "Strafe him boys", shouted one stout porter as another German was chased across Farringdon Street into Holborn by some 300 people. He attained a marvellous speed and the men perched on the vans and wagons shouted sporting phrases at him.

Protocol was not forgotten. The *Daily Chronicle* records that the College of Arms had announced (months after the outbreak of war) the striking off the roll of Knights of the Garter of the Emperors of Austria and Germany, the Crown Prince, the Duke of Cumberland and other Teutonic royalties. In the spring of 1917 the *Manchester Guardian* supported a move to license women taxi drivers in London which had led to the threat of a strike by men taxi and bus drivers and conductors.

Browsing through the 160 or so pages of this random collection with its mixture of main news and smaller change gives those war years a contemporary look. The volume is not easy to handle, since it measures 21½ inches long by 15½ inches wide; but this is necessary to preserve the format of the papers. More should have been given about the provenance of what is merely described by Mr. Ian Williams, as a "selection based on Britain's largest private newspaper collection and supplemented by a number of other private and public sources". The publishers express indebtedness to Mr. John Frost for making available many of the reproductions. They should, surely, have explained how this haphazard record came to be assembled. Its gaps are remarkable. There is nothing between June 7 and September, 1916, to mark the opening of the battle of the Somme with its terrible consequences to the flower of British manhood. As a lucky dip this reprint is excellent value, but it must not be taken for a systematic choice made as a guide to historians or students of war.

Sectacular

Internationale Situationniste 1958-69

Amsterdam: Van Gennep. 23fl.

Internationale Situationniste 1958-69 makes available in a single paperback volume of nearly 700 pages all the twelve issues so far published of the Paris organ of the Situationists for under £3—that is, rather less than they would have cost if bought individually over the years. It is a pity that the standard of reproduction is not higher, since the editors have always used photographs alongside the text to make their points, and these are much less distinct in the reprint than they were in the original—a little more clarity would have been worth a little more money. As it is, the volume provides a fascinating record of this groupuscule which began in the French tradition of politico-cultural sectarianism and ended by playing a prominent part first in the disturbances at Strasbourg University in 1966 and then in the more dramatic "events" of May, 1968. Many of the slogans which achieved fame on the walls of Paris may be found here in some form, and the ideas which influenced the rebels so much were being worked out in these pages during the previous ten years.

There is in fact a certain irony in such a publication, for the Situationists have always been the most virulent opponents of the consumer society—"la société du spectacle", as it is called in the title of the book by their leading ideologue, Guy Debord—and [illegible] neatly packaged as a highly marketable commodity in a clearly spectacular way. But going by the publisher's brochure the Situationists have consented to the reprint, and it is certainly convenient to have in one place the dozen issues which were so widely separated in time and often so difficult to obtain.

What is interesting is that there is so little change over the decade: the same names reappear, the same ideas recur, the same squabbles erupt. What change there is derives from the outside world: the imperialist war shifts from Algeria to Vietnam, the political use of pin-ups shifts from bikinis to nudes, the growth of the student rebellion increases editorial self-confidence. One wonders whether there is in fact room for further development, or whether this volume will simply join the books by individual Situationist writers in the bibliographies of the unending procession of books on 1968.

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Edward Arnold

Interment of the intellectual

Poetry London
5 vols. Cass. £35 the set.

Art and Letters
July 1917 to Spring 1920.
2 vols. Cass. £15 the set.

The purpose of *Poetry London*, when it was founded in 1939, was to provide a platform for those spontaneous young voices which the ruling (though by then moribund) *New Verse* had no time for; poets who, following the lead of George Barker and Dylan Thomas—both of whom *New Verse* had in fact published—were establishing a neo-romantic exit from the "mental" 1930s. It was not quite clear at the time who these poets were, but that did not matter much. The important thing was to have the right motto, "Every man has poetry within him": the critics, the intellectuals, the objective reporters of the *New Verse* era had stifled this ubiquitous poetic spirit and now had to be dislodged.

Poetry London's first number must indeed have sent new vigour flooding through the veins of neglected poetasters everywhere. Poetry, it seemed, was no longer difficult to write—not only did one not need brains, one would actually be better off without them (more spontaneous and spiritual). And as for talent, who can ever tell what that is? Such were the reassurances contained in the First Letter of *Poetry London*'s editor, the Ceylonese Meary J. Tambimuttu (there were hopeful rumours at the time that the "J" stood for Jesus; but James now seems a likelier bet). Tambimuttu had arrived two years before, with Surrealism all the rage and Thomas, Barker and David Gascoyne just establishing themselves, and was thus ignorant enough of the England of the 1930s to reduce what *New Verse* stood for to something merely niggling and arid; one didn't need to *know* anything to appreciate the Barkers and the Gascoynes.

Hence the vapid and sublimely self-confident anti-intellectualism that pervaded Tambimuttu's first editorial announcement:

> No man is small enough to be neglected as a poet. Every healthy man is a full vessel, though vessels are of different sizes.
> The man who decries the praise of beauty or love is a pervert, an intellectual, a more than dead rabbit. Bury him.

This kind of rhetoric was to become the small change of "poetic theory" during the following decade, and it was to result in a really melodramatic collapse of standards. In 1939, though, it must have seemed bold and refreshing. Disaster having struck, no one was in the mood to savour Auden's icy premonitions, nor to quibble about literary niceties. Where, five years earlier, Tambimuttu's sonorously vacuous texts would have been laughed at, they now appeared rather splendid, mysterious and reassuring. Again, it would hardly have been noticed that the poems printed in that first issue were mostly by familiar names (de la Mare, Durrell, Spender, Dylan Thomas, MacNeice—a fragment of *Autumn Journal*, in fact; and what could be more Thirtyish than that?).

In his second number, Tambimuttu appeared in somewhat less holy garments, and began naming names. Geoffrey Grigson of *New Verse* and Julian Symons, editor of *Twentieth Century Verse*, the other leading verse periodical of the 1930s, were the principal targets. *Poetry London*, it was claimed, was "a protest against the modern suppression of free speech in verse", a suppression for which Grigson (and Booksy Symons, as he was dubbed in a hostile book review later in the same issue) had been chiefly responsible. Resentments which for months had probably been deadening the air of Rathbone Place hostelries (see J. Maclaren-Ross's not, one would guess, entirely reliable *Memoirs of the Forties* for an account of the typical bardic pub-crawl of those times) could now be unburdened in print:

> All they [i.e. Grigson and Symons] have succeeded in doing so far is to encourage young poets to develop a "manner" foreign to their natures, which has destroyed any significance or usefulness they might have had; the bulk of the poetry they publish is petrified, repetitive and uninteresting.

The two editors, Tambimuttu went on, fostered "little hen-coops and cliques"; they were nothing short of "critics", and, as anyone could see, "The critic is not our concern. Let him get squashed under his own microscope." At the rear of the second issue there were numerous congratulatory messages from readers: "I particularly liked the poems by Louis MacNeice"; "The most remarkable poem in the magazine is Stephen Spender's 'Variations on My Life'"; but it is not insignificant that the letters from Thomas, Durrell and MacNeice each praised the magazine in the terms in which it most wished to be praised for its lack of "cliquishness". It must have taken a considerable weariness with Grigsonian discipline to blind even these intelligent contributors to the sinister and nonsensical aspects of Tambimuttu's "position"—or maybe they couldn't think of anything else to say. The congratulations did have a somewhat press-ganged air to them.

The attack on *New Verse* was reopened in No. 3, with more vague dronings about the "diminishing of the intrinsic incantational qualities of verse", and the *Poetry London* pantheon began to take clearer shape, with Kathleen Raine, David Gascoyne and Nicholas Moore as evident key figures. Henry Treece praising Herbert Read as "one of the most neglected major poets of my time" (how many of those could there have been? one wonders) was also a useful intimation of things to come. Read himself was to write the editorial letter in No. 5, and was to remain an important guiding influence behind not only *Poetry London* but other 1940s manifestations like the New Apocalypse and the Personalist theories.

By about the fifth issue of *Poetry London* (March-April, 1941) it was clearly felt that the battle against the literary taste of the 1930s had been won. And so in fact it had; the literary scene was fragmented, and those who might have contributed an intelligent rebuttal of the more extravagant consequences of *Poetry London*'s undiscriminating policies were either in the army or were in one way or another too heavily involved with the war to feel inclined to mount an energetic counter-offensive of the kind that would have been required. As the level of critical discussion had deteriorated, so the audience for poetry had dramatically expanded; the public hunger for verse was a positive encouragement to the vatic posturings of charlatans and mediocrities.

Poetry London was on hand to add to this encouragement an "official" seal. But the general badness of the verse printed and the exchanged plaudits which, in *PL*'s review columns, passed for criticism did not prevent the magazine from becoming the most influential verse-periodical of the day; good poems were being written during the war, and *Poetry London* was certainly one of the places to which any poet of the day would probably think of sending work. Thus, here and there in the quagmire, one can find work like Alun Lewis's "The Public Gardens", "To Edward Thomas", and "Postcript for Gweno" (in the same issue, we find Tambimuttu's own "Out of this War" praised by a reviewer as "one of the completest poetic statements on the war that have yet appeared"), "The Prisoner" by Keith Douglas (in *that* issue there is the following piece of close analysis by Francis King: "The whole poem is full of appalling banalities—but it is all genuine, authentic. I felt absurdly touched—and not only because I had met Cornelia"), F. T. Prince's "Soldiers Bathing" and even poems by G. Grigson and J. Symons. *Poetry London*'s fostering of Keith Douglas—they printed many of his best poems and, when Editions Poetry London started up after the war, published both *Alamein to Zem Zem* and Douglas's *Collected Poems*—has to be acknowledged as one of its more real achievements.

Just as one can discover good poems in the wartime *Poetry London* so there are occasional strokes of real editorial panache: the idea of balancing George Orwell's negative estimate of the *Four Quartets* with Kathleen Raine's eulogy was unusually enterprising. And there were always, of course, the famous covers, by Graham Sutherland and Henry Moore, and illustrations by Ceri Richards and Barbara Hepworth.

After the war, it was inevitable that Tambimuttu's power would suffer inroads; the literary arena was filling up again, and not with his admirers. His editorial zeal and efficiency by this stage already seem to have begun to deteriorate; the ludicrously bumper No. 10 (it takes up a whole volume of this reprint) which came out in December, 1946, was a desperate attempt to dispose of a spectacular accumulation of both debts and manuscripts. In 1947, Tambimuttu tried to inject some of the old self-confidence into the magazine by resuming, rather pathetically, his eight-year-old campaign against Geoffrey Grigson. Grigson had no trouble getting the better of the quarrel:

> The axis which runs through *Poetry London* is that all poems are poems and equally worth printing. The only axis is to have no axis, beyond that faith in muddle and contradiction which has made *Poetry London* the most foolish (if representative) periodical of its time.

Between 1947 and 1950, five more issues were produced. The wartime poetry boom was thoroughly of the past by then; Nicholson and Watson, the publishers of *PL* for some years, had collapsed, and the magazine was steadily losing circulation. By the completion of Volume Four, Tambimuttu had had enough, and the last volume (Nos. 17-23) was edited throughout 1950 and 1951 by Richard March and Nicholas Moore. The new editors' first editorial provides an indication of the extent to which the tide had begun to turn against neo-romanticism. Recalling Tambimuttu's first manifesto, the editors comment, almost apologetically:

> This approach undoubtedly provided a release for much poetic talent at the time, and during the war years, that might not otherwise have had the opportunity to gain public recognition. Today, after four years of uneasy peace and with little prospect of a more comfortable tomorrow, the time has come to concentrate more on some of the positive qualities that make a poem. Poets should take stock of themselves, especially with a view to improving their technical equipment and sharpening their wits. We would like to see poets turn their attention more to satirical verse or occasional poems with a bite and an edge to them.

"Improving their technical equipment and sharpening their wits"—this would have been a blasphemous prescription in the wartime *Poetry London*. The author was probably Nicholas Moore, who although his own poetic reputation was higher during the war than it has been ever since, had been contrib… quite fierce reviews of hi… to the last few issues of Ta… tu's reign. It was probabl… too who wrote the seri… lacerating valedictory … *Poetry London* 22 (the Fe… Britain issue):

> What is to be the characteri… of the poetry of the ninete… Or are we to have no new p… this decade? . . . The … much contemporary verse … unconnected with the fact th… not attempt to imitate … many of our poets rely too … vague subjectivity or the des… emotional states that may be … subtle or commonplace, in … have little or no resilien… emotive quality or wit.

In these last issues of … finds advertisements for … and reviews by Donald Da… new guard were waiting … wings. Was it an accident … last number of this unw… magazines should contain, … tion to Moore's predic… "Poem on Retiring into … try" by George Barker, "… Passion to Match My S… James Reeves, "A Ballad fo… Times" by David Wright, … from Margaret Seaton—a … titled "My Lord, Be Merc… Broken Reed"? Everyone, … agreed that the Forties … over.

Another new addition to Cass's discriminating Littl… zine series is *Art and Letters*, … rigorous if less influential … than *Poetry London*, and a … shorter-lived. The magaz… first planned to appear in … was held up by the outbreak … and eventually came out … summer of *1917*. Its decla… was to combat the "… illiterate expression" of … vile and debasing … these, presumably being … the wartime propaganda … by upholding "the highest … in all the arts, paying no re… popular sentiment and … concession to commercial … tunities". The editors were … Rutter, Charles Ginner and … Gilman (eventually the la… dropped out, and Rutter … sole control, with Osbert Si… his poetry editor) and the "… standards", in their view, … a tentative modernism … loyalty to the more … Georgians.

The magazine's review… tion tended to be fairly … many of the set essays … laborious and elementary … Herbert Read on modern … "Rhythm and cadence are … allied in nature", "Rhyme … metre are arbitrary deco… but, for a periodical that … than two years, its … imaginative writing was … good: Aldous Huxley, Edit… and others of the *Wheels* … frequent contributors and … were Katherine Mansfield … Pound (criticism only) and … Eliot (both essays and poe… "Burbank with a Baedeker … "Sweeney Erect"). There … poems by the best of the war … Rosenberg, Owen and Sass… illustrations by Wyndham … Gaudier-Brzeska, Modig… Augustus John.

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280pp. $21.

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Volume 1: 1967-1968.
$25.
Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus.

This expensive new batch of reprinted little magazines will by no means help to reassure those who have their reservations about the reprint industry.

Certainly there is something ludicrous in the prospect of a librarian forking out a fat sum for, say, the facsimile of two-year-old copies of the *San Francisco Earthquake* when he so recently declined to support that publication with his subscription. There is also something depressing in the indiscriminate historicizing which seeks to promote as lastingly valuable the self-evidently ephemeral and slight. And yet, as we have argued in the past, the whole reprint boom has done far more good than harm to the little magazines themselves. The availability of good magazines of the past has given current magazine editors a less hazy and sentimental sense of the tradition than they might otherwise have had, and the (albeit promiscuous and over-prompt) reprinting of still extant journals has, by royalties and by the purchase of yellowing backstock, raised many of them from their sickbeds. Sure enough many of them ought to have been left to die, but the whole point about little magazines is that for every good one there will be a hundred duds—and the rarer the disease the smaller the charity.

Leafing through the scarlet-bound volumes of the *Wagner Literary Magazine*, it is necessary to keep reminding oneself of these gentle considerations, for here is the essence of ephemera. The magazine ran for four years as an annual (1959-64) and was largely devoted to persuading Wagner College students that they were important writers. The journal's faculty adviser was Willard Maas, and it is he who contributes a foreword to the reprint, boasting that the *WLM* was one of "few if any" college magazines to have "achieved professional standards". "This", he goes on, "is not to say that all Wagner writers achieve professionalism, but even when the Wagner student is not particularly adroit in the handling of words, the subject on which he writes is always interesting." When we turn to the magazine's final issue, we see what Mr. Maas means: the bulk of it is devoted to Mr. Maas. Forty pages of Maas verse, five pages of pictures of Maas, and an essay, wildly rapturous, on Maas by Mark McCloskey (the magazine's hatchet man in earlier issues, stamping fiercely on outsiders like Robert Lowell and Alan Dugan). McCloskey offers Maas "the posies of our thanks and insight".

In other issues, we find similarly incestuous tributes. Among the many fine Wagner poets of that era, we recall Ruth Krauss, who "holds us with her phantasmagoric clarity", George Semsel who "surprises us with newly discovered *trobar ric* effects", and Mark McCloskey who "compels attention with his insistent labour to retain the haunting musicality of traditional form in his own delicately nostalgic melodies". Well, maybe it was just a good year.

Even though this kind of domesticity hardly seems worth perpetuating, there are odds and ends throughout the magazine which one can imagine someone wanting to look up. There is an interview with Edward Albee, and the first issue carried a symposium on Beat poetry to which Marianne Moore, Norman Mailer, Lionel Trilling, and other "distinguished persons" contributed. It also includes a 500-word telegram from Herbert Read ("SEEN FROM EUROPE THE BEATS ARE INDEED OLD HAT THAT IS TO SAY NOT VERY ORIGINAL STOP . . .") and a nice turn of phrase from Lord David Cecil, whose reason for hesitating to predict lasting value for the Beats was that "too many mistaken prophecies have been made in the past by much greater men than myself". We are offered too a reproduction of Edmund Wilson's famous rejection slip.

Similar fragments of interest can be found in the other magazines in this batch, though all of them are typically self-congratulatory products of either the West Coast or the New York groups of poets; two groups which, between them, have in the past decade produced as many magazines as they have geniuses, and that's indeed a multitude. First, the New York products. *Angel Hair* (1966) is a sheaf of verse—no stories or reviews—from Ted Berrigan, Philip Whalen, Tom Clark, among many others. *Neon* (1956-60) is edited, rather apologetically, by Gilbert Sorrentino, who declares in his first issue that "If the work herein is crude and imperfect it is that only in the sense that the first raw hedges of spring are imperfect", and then gives over a nice slice of the same issue to an extract from his own, thoroughly imperfect, "novel in progress". The magazine begins fumblingly but in later issues swings firmly to Olson, Creeley, Zukofsky, and other Black Mountaineers. *Folder* (1953-56), firmly champions New York School figures like John Ashbery and Frank O'Hara. From the West Coast, there are the first two issues of the once-notorious *City Lights Journal*, and the much thinner—in every sense—*San Francisco Earthquake*; both of these musts for the truly scholarly devotee of Burroughs, Ginsberg, Ferlinghetti and Kerouac. History will not want to lose, for instance, this telling moment from a *City Lights Journal* interview with Allen Ginsberg:

> ERNIE: Allen, I suppose you feel much of the tension in the world is due to a lack of compassion and love.
>
> ALLEN: Yes, Ernie, not enough people make love.
>
> (Allen putting his hands around me, caressing my shoulders, other parts of me.)
>
> ERNIE: Er . . . Yes, Allen.
>
> ERNIE: Who do you make love to, Allen?
>
> ALLEN: Anybody I can sleep with, anybody who'll have me.
>
> (Allen starting to put his arms round me; me feeling the point is well made without him having to physically demonstrate his policy. Trying to get his hands off me.)
>
> ERNIE: Is there any special type which turns you on?
>
> ALLEN: Young Rimbauds, young Marilyn Monroes, as well as other human beings. And occasionally an android here and there.

Man, beast and element

KOSTES PALAMAS:
Three Poems
Translated by Theodore Ph. Stephanides and George C. Katsimbalis.
38pp. Obtainable from Theodore Ph. Stephanides. 137 Chelsea Cloisters, London, S.W.3.

Of all the major poets of modern Greece, Palamas, who died in the early 1940s, is by far the least familiar to English readers. This is partly because of the form of his poetry and the difficulty of providing a representative selection of it. He was a prolific and versatile poet, who wrote many fine short lyrics, but much of his most important and characteristic work is cast in the form of extended poetic cycles such as *Life Immovable*, or lengthy semi-philosophical narratives such as *The Dodecalogue of the Gipsy* or *The King's Flute*. A further problem of presentation arises from his language and versification. Palamas is a master of rhyme, his metaphors and figures of speech, though far from conventional, are generally direct rather than telescoped or allusive in the modern manner, and while he is capable of great metrical subtlety, much of this poetry is com… posed in regular, strongly marked rhythms. All these factors make it difficult for the translator to render his poetry except in an idiom which is closer to the Victorian than the contemporary.

The three poems which this volume contains are all taken from the cycle *Life Immovable*. The first is "The Palm Tree", written in 1900, an allegory in which the flowers growing around a palm tree in a garden debate their destiny—why are they, unlike other forms of creation, prevented from living their brief lives in carefree happiness, why are they burdened with consciousness? This is followed by "The Chains" (1899), the second of a triptych of poems entitled *The Great Visions*—its sequel is the far longer and more ambitious *Dodecalogue of the Gipsy*. Last comes "The Satyr", a short lyrical hymn in worship of light, warmth and energy: here the poet becomes identified with the satyr, to whose music all nature dances in beauty and nakedness.

Theodore Stephanides and George Katsimbalis are experienced translators who have already published a selection of Palamas's poems. Other translators, such as Professor George Thomson in his recent version of *The Dodecalogue*, have chosen unrhymed free verse: this approach achieves a faithful rendering of the sense, but misses almost all the poetic character of the original. In the present version the problem of rhyme is squarely faced and the rhyme-scheme of the original is followed. The translator who attempts this solution is gambling for higher stakes: if he fails, he is liable not only to sacrifice fidelity but to achieve banality into the bargain. Here the courage of the attempt is largely justified. There are occasional descents into flatness, and from time to time the sense is imprisoned by the exigencies of rhyme: but the reward is to release a good deal of the melodic sweep and eloquence of the original which have remained muted in other translations. A single comparison from "The Satyr" must suffice:

A. E. Phoutrides:

> The satyr, I have taken here
> Roots like an olive tree.
> And with my flute deep-sounding
> I make the breezes languish.
> I play, and lo! all things are mated
> I play, and lo! all things are dancing

Stephanides:

> The satyr. Like the olive tree
> Here have I struck my root;
> I make the breezes moan desire
> With my deep-sounding flute.
> I play and all things meet and mate
> Love pleading and assent;
> I play and all join in the dance:
> Man, Beast and Element.

4th March publications

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Also published as a Chatto & Windus paperback (CWP 41) at 75p.

HOGARTH PRESS

The sculptors of Siena

CARLO DEL BRAVO:
Scultura senese del quattrocento
136pp. Florence: Edam. L.10,000.

For more than sixty years the standard book on Sienese fifteenth-century sculpture has been Schubring's *Die Plastik Sienas im Quattrocento.* Even at the time when it was published, three years after the great exhibition of Sienese art in Siena in 1904, it must have seemed a defective and in some respects tendentious piece of work. In retrospect its principal defect rests not in its misattributions—these are forgivable at any time, and are only slightly more numerous in Schubring's volume than in other books of the same date—but in its perspective, because it disregarded, with singular persistency, the work of all those artists from outside Siena who contributed to the development of Sienese sculptural style. For Schubring, Ghiberti might never have designed the great baptismal font, Donatello might never have made models for the bronze doors of the Cathedral or worked on a chapel in the interior of the church, and Benedetto da Majano might never have been active in S. Domenico or nearby at San Gimignano. Yet without Ghiberti the work of Giovanni Turini cannot be understood, without Donatello the splendid progress of Vecchietta both as a bronze and marble sculptor is unexplained, and without Benedetto da Majano the marble sculpture of the last quarter of the century would have assumed a different character. Dr. Carlo Del Bravo's *Scultura senese del quattrocento,* though a more sophisticated and a much more interesting book, suffers from the same defect as Schubring's, ignoring most of the external experiences to which Sienese sculptors were subjected, and concentrating on local, that is on provincial, phenomena.

Dr. Del Bravo has, however, the advantage of an open mind and a good eye, and his book, though not in the strict sense of the term a history, is a most useful commentary on Sienese sculpture. Whereas Schubring proceeded from artist to artist, with chapters on Quercia, Federighi and their successors, the material in the new book is presented chronologically, opening with the first dated works of Quercia and Francesco di Valdambrino and closing in 1500 with the busts of Popes modelled, probably by Giovanni di Stefano, for the Cathedral. Those who are not familiar with the field may find this a confusing scheme, since many of the sculptures are in fact undated and the chronology is therefore in large part conjectural. It should none the less be noted that where Dr. Del Bravo's datings differ most sharply from those of earlier students (as in his reconstruction of a group of early works carved by Francesco di Valdambrino before the "Patrons of Siena" of 1409), his proposals are very plausible.

The first of the three chapters deals with two major woodcarvers, Francesco di Valdambrino and Domenico di Niccolò, with Jacopo della Quercia and with the Sienese bronze sculptors employed on the baptismal font. The section on wooden sculpture is as a whole persuasive, and is supported by a number of excellent unpublished detail photographs. Account is also taken of a number of works which have not hitherto been seriously discussed, among them the interesting marble relief of the "Baptism of Christ" at Badia ad Isola. Jacopo della Quercia fits rather uneasily into this scheme, partly because his working procedure was irregular and partly because the analytical problem presented by his sculptures is exceptionally difficult. Dr. Del Bravo's observations on the "Ilaria del Carretto", in particular, though stimulating are almost certainly at fault.

The second chapter is devoted in the main to Vecchietta and Antonio Federighi. The attributions to the latter sculptor represent some of the principal innovations of the book. They include works commonly given to or associated with Jacopo della Quercia (among them the large wooden "Virgin and Child" in the Louvre, a gilt wood group of the "Virgin and Child with Six Saints" in S. Martino at Siena, and half-length Madonnas in the Museo Bardini and the Fondazione Salvatore Romano in Florence). The claim that these works are due to Federighi is highly convincing, and would be more so had Dr. Del Bravo not linked them with Madonnas in Washington and Berlin, which are manifestly Florentine, and for which Federighi cannot possibly have been responsible. The pages on Federighi as a marble sculptor are also very interesting.

Dr. Del Bravo deserves great credit for disinterring the baptismal certificate of Vecchietta, who proves to have been born in Siena in 1410. The lineaments of the young Vecchietta as a wood sculptor have been established by earlier scholars. To the accepted works Dr. Del Bravo adds a well-known Annunciation group in terracotta at Castiglione d'Olona in Lombardy. There are good reasons to suppose that Vecchietta worked as a painter in this church, and it would be pleasant to suppose that he also worked there as a sculptor. The group is, however, rather strikingly unlike the wooden sculptures of the same time, and is probably, as has always been supposed, of Lombard origin. An area which has never been investigated is the relation of Sienese sculptors to Rome. This is opened up by Dr. Del Bravo in the case of Vecchietta. A connexion postulated between Vecchietta and Paolo Romano is possible, but the claim that a number of Vecchietta's works in bronze are stylistically indebted to the marble sculptures of Giovanni Dalmata and Mino da Fiesole is certainly not warranted by the only tests that can be applied to it, those of physical resemblance ... affinity.

Strict adherence to the ... of chronology impairs the ... ter on the sculpture of the ... of the century. Here the ... figure is Francesco di G... is, however, treated in a ... and somewhat perfunctory ... without adequate reference ... Florentine sources of his ... paratively little has been ... the marble sculptures of ... and Giovanni di Stefano ... statues of SS. Catherine ... dria and Ansanus in the ... face towards Lucca and ... middle term between the ... of Civitali's Altar of S. ... Lucca Cathedral and ... statues carved by the ... later in the century for ... of the Baptist in the ... Genoa. Dr. Del Bravo ... engage very closely with ... to whom he surprisingly ... beautiful and characteristic ... Bernardino" at Borgo ... on the rather nebulous ... it reveals "qualità ... rose e insieme sofisticate ... trovano in nessuna ... scultorea di Neroccio", ... good deal to contribute ... vanni di Stefano. He fails ... to give a satisfactory ... sculptural commission ... Cathedral under the ... Alberto Aringhieri, of ... vanni di Stefano's sculpt... part.

The index to the book ... curious fact that there is ... single reference to Anto... iuolo, whose influence is ... very great and is reflected ... bronze reliefs of Francesco ... gio as well as in Matteo ... ni's "Massacre of the ... on the pavement of the ... and only one parenthetical ... to Signorelli, whose style ... influential in painting at ... the century and is funda... Giacomo Cozzarelli's ... group of the "Lamentation ... Dead Christ" at the Oss...

The formative years

WILLIAM SANDBY:
The History of the Royal Academy of Arts
Volume I: 404pp. Volume II: 467pp. £14 the set.

ANDRE ROUQUET:
The Present State of the Arts in England
136pp. £5.

Anecdotes of William Hogarth
415pp. £6.50.

EDWARD EDWARDS:
Anecdotes of Painters
327pp. £6.

JOHN PYE:
Patronage of British Art
422pp. £8.

ELIZA METEYARD:
The Life of Josiah Wedgwood
Volume I: 504pp. Volume II: 643pp. £12.50 the set.
Cornmarket Press.

This series of facsimile reprints of eighteenth and nineteenth-century books on art and artists in England, now reissued by the Cornmarket Press, conveniently assembles a quantity of useful documentation. A preface to each item by R. W. Lightbown gives necessary facts about the authors and a brief but illuminating evaluation of their works from a modern standpoint. His remark on *The History of the Royal Academy of Arts* (1862)—"The book is still valuable even though it must be used prudently"—would apply generally to the works selected.

William Sandby (1829-1904), a member of the same family as the artists Paul and Thomas Sandby (on whom he wrote and of whose works he had an important collection), provided a principal source of information about the Academy's first hundred years. Though he was not free from errors and plagiarism—and one must turn to S. C. Hutchison's *History of the Royal Academy* not only for post-1862 events but for modern perspective and accurate detail regarding the whole 200 years of the academy's existence—Sandby must be given credit for much out-of-the-way information.

The Present State of the Arts in England (1755), the only contemporary survey of English art from 1730 to 1750, illustrates opinion in both England and France during those two formative decades. André Rouquet (1701-58), born in Switzerland of French Protestant parents, was a portrait miniaturist in enamel who worked in England for thirty years and was a friend of Hogarth, whom he extols. His little book was intended to defend English art from the disparagement of such French critics as the Abbé Le Blanc, who found no merit whatever in the insular products of painter and craftsman, though Rouquet professed to aim at balanced criticism rather than mere eulogy.

Anecdotes of William Hogarth (1833), the revised compilation of John Bowyer Nichols (1779-1863)—the eldest son of Hogarth's admirer, John Nichols—brings Hogarth's autobiographical fragments rather arbitrarily together, with estimates of Hogarth by various hands, including the celebrated essays of Hazlitt and Lamb, and useful catalogues of Hogarth's prints, paintings and drawings. *Anecdotes of Painters* (1808) was intended by Edward Edwards, A.R.A. (1738-1806), as a sequel to Horace Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting in England.* It consists of biographies, sometimes too brief but not inaccurate or prejudiced, and his own collision with Sir Joshua has no more than dignified reference.

Patronage of British Art (1845) was the work of John Pye (1782-1874), a skilled engraver, respected as such by Turner, but with a grudge against the Royal Academy for not giving due respect to his craft. Pye was impelled to collect facts and figures, and the result was an account of the social condition of art and artists in England which is in its way unique. The massive and meticulously detailed *Life of Josiah Wedgwood* (1865) is still a necessary companion volume to the study of the development of the Industrial Revolution from its first intellectual and theoretical aspect and the ideas of design that it proposed. Miss Meteyard (1816-79), tireless in industry, gave a picture of the eighteenth-century idealist who evolved into the nineteenth-century industrialist.

A Curious Hieroglyphick Bible was originally published by T. Hodgson in 1780 then republished by B. Dugdale in Dublin nine years later. It is a pocket-sized book which starts with some 125 pages each of which presents a "select passage" from the Scriptures in the form of a rebus, using small woodcut symbols, figures and illustrations to turn it into an agreeable puzzle calculated to "familiarize tender Age" with biblical ideas and episodes. In each case the solution is printed at the bottom of the page. New Testament follows Old without interruption, the gospel story being polished off in a mere thirteen pages; illustrated lives of the Evangelists follow at the end, together with a prayer or two, a picture of the Last Judgment and a questionnaire for the instructed child. The whole has now been reprinted in facsimile by the Errata Press, Brunstane House, Edinburgh 15 at 67½p.

The English Revolution 1640-1653

Adaptations of Shakespeare

History of Art in England

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Cornmarket Reprints
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London W1R 0NL

The Problems of Success

A History of the Church Missionary Society 1910-1942

What is attempted here might perhaps best be described as a constitutional history of the Society. It was a period of rapid social change in Africa and the Middle East and so of missionary endeavour, which Gordon Hewitt clearly shows.

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(Staples Press) ...
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(Staples Press) ...

When the wind of change blew

BERLIN ON THE EVE OF 1914



"...Pudel." *Drawing by Max Fröhlich in* Der Sturm, *September 8, 1910.*

...Sturm
... by Herwarth Walden.
...ls. Nendeln, Liechtenstein: ... $695 the set.

...ed as a weekly in Berlin in ... 1910, *Der Sturm* played a ... part in spreading the new ... climate that became known ... Expressionism. It was by no ... its intention to do this, as can ... seen from the first eleven issues, ... it appears very much a magazine ... of the 1900s, with occasional ...*Simplicissimus*-like illustrations. At ... it was concerned above all to ...duce certain new ideas from ...na, notably through the col...tion of Karl Kraus and the ...ect Adolf Loos; indeed until ...d of 1910 its place of publication ... was given as "Berlin/Vienna".

...the course of that year, however, ...*Sturm* began publishing Kokoschka's drawings, often giving them ... whole of one of its eight folio ...pages, where they still seem to ...ut as something brilliant and, ... context, entirely fresh. More... Kurt Hiller wrote the notice of ...schka's first Berlin show and ...hen on he and the young poets ...d around his "Neopathe... Cabaret" (Blass, Lichtenstein, ...oddis, though not Heym) con... for about two years, adding ...ctively Berlin flavour. Of the ...the Neue Sezession, which was ...extent a development of the ...began advertising in June, ...from October took a whole ... as an advertisement and ...1911 to 1912, to display its ... graphic work. Meantime ...as a core of older contribu... whom Alfred Döblin and ...id-1912) Else Lasker-Schüler ... most clearly associated with ... trend.

...in the magazine's early years ...ture was continually vary... thanks partly to the develop... of alternative outlets and ... to the editor Herwarth ...'s fluctuating enmities and ...ams. Hiller and his ... dropped out during 1912, ...was also the last year of the ...Sezession. Kokoschka's con...s flagged after a few ... to be somewhat over...ed during 1911 by those of ...cke artists, then the standard ... less distinguished sub... ... took over, only to ... of 1912 with Walden's discovery of the Blaue Reiter.

Gradually the whole balance shifted towards the visual arts, which had initially taken a very subsidiary place, and towards a more international coverage. This was in part the result of the opening of the magazine's own art gallery in March, 1912, and of the Futurist exhibition which followed; the discovery of Chagall and Delaunay led to that of Cendrars and Apollinaire, who contributed poems (including "Zône") in French, while the statement and discussion of Futurist theory occupied much of that year. It also inspired *Der Sturm*'s one real literary discovery: that debatable poet August Stramm, whom Rudolf Blümner (one of the most faithful of the older core, and author of a startling denunciation of German homosexuality in one of the early numbers) was later to call "the greatest verbal genius in the German language".

After travelling the Futurist pictures round Europe, Walden began sending exhibitions as far afield as London, Tokyo and Helsinki. In 1914 he seems also to have arranged to open a branch in Geneva, but the war put a stop to all such activity and largely cut the magazine's platform from under it. Thenceforward the place of publication was no longer given as "Berlin/Paris", as it had been since May, 1913; the tone of the contributions was set by Stramm and such artists as Jacoba van Heemskerck (a discovery of Walden's that year); and because *Der Sturm* never in any way opposed the German war effort, it became increasingly out of touch with the main development of Expressionist writing. It never regained its influence, and its last two volumes covering the period from 1928 to 1932, when it was not even appearing monthly, are somewhat pathetic, despite the impressive tributes for Walden's fiftieth birthday in the former year. Even then, however, among much junk the reader will find such original items as Kurt Schwitters's essays on typography. But by then Walden's own enthusiasm had switched to the Soviet Union, and his pretence that Expressionism was still a force seems merely nostalgic.

This was a magazine which owed much to the personality of its editor, who wrote extensively in nearly every issue. He was a fighter, often a rather negative one, basing his vituperations on the foolish things that other papers said; and where his enmities were directed against people of any importance they sometimes seemed assumed. Richard Strauss, for instance, the art critic Karl Scheffler and his fellow-editor (of *Die Aktion*) Franz Pfemfert were none of them allowed any merits whatsoever; while the venomous attack by Ehrenstein on Hiller which Walden published in November, 1912, could not possibly have been deserved. On the other hand, once he had taken up an artist's or a writer's cause Walden would defend him against all comers; though this mood, of course, might not last long: the Brücke, for instance, were *out* after 1912. As a composer himself—there are a number of his songs in the early issues, as well as a grand military march called "Der Sturm" in September, 1914, dedicated to Stramm and partly printed upside-down—he was a Mahler man, dismissing Schoenberg (in issue No. 37) as "vastly overrated. A good musician, not an artist . . . ." Later, when the despised critics were attacking Schoenberg, he allowed Döblin to defend him, reserving final judgment but admitting that "his good artistic intentions cannot be denied".

Der Sturm's best period was in the winter of 1911-12, when it still represented a number of the different threads which went to make up Expressionism and helped to make some of the most gifted German-language writers and artists aware of one another. This was when it first began seriously to tackle the actual concept of Expressionism—in an article by Paul Ferdinand Schmidt in No. 92 which put Pechstein and Nolde alongside the Frenchmen Vlaminck, Puy and Herbin (who, together with other Fauves, had been labelled as "Expressionists" in the previous Sezession)—and concluded that although Van Gogh had "unleashed the movement", and the French carried it on from there, the forcefulness of the young Germans "seems to indicate that Germany will be its definitive country". The magazine's interest in Cubism, for some reason, came later, in the second half of 1913, so that the two Picasso drawings reproduced in 1912 were both more or less naturalistic at a time when Cubist influence had already filtered into the work of men like Marc and Campendonk. This may in part be why Cubism never developed an independent standing in Germany (as it had done in the work of the Czechs whom Walden also reproduced) but became regarded, in Adolf Behne's terms in the December, 1914, issue, as something secondary, "the language of which many Expressionists, not all, make use". Even then the concept of Expressionism had not yet been extended to literature, though Walden in February, 1915, deplored its lack in the theatre, claiming that suitable writers were available. But there was an important essay on the novel by Döblin in May, 1913, dismissing psychology and eroticism and calling for "curtness, economy of words . . . new turns of phrase, self-denial of the author", all summed up in the term *Kinostil.*

The reprinting of *Die Aktion* already having been undertaken by the firms of Cotta and Kösel, *Der Sturm* is perhaps the most important single item in Kraus's programme of reprinting German magazines, which is under the ... guidance of Paul Raabe. The pages are legible apart from a few lines where a fold has interfered, the binding plain and stout, the graphic work strong and clear. An incidental pleasure is the style and content of the advertisements, far more "period" than much of the magazine itself. Miss Kendon of Goudhurst advertises for lady paying-guests in a "better-class house", Messrs. Brock and Co. of London, E.C., offer "marriages legally valid in England"—one wonders why. For all the international flavour of the magazine, these are the only links with this country until 1913, when there is a short extract from Blake and the magazines *Rhythm* and *Poetry and Drama* begin to figure among the small advertisements. In the following spring there was a graphic exhibition showing in London and the short list of "Books Recommended" included Clive Bell: *Art.* We were not exactly part of the global village in those days.

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George Allen & Unwin

THE TIMES
T·L·S
70th Year 19 February 1971 No. 3,599

Commentary

We have not, this time, extended our special reprint number to deal also with those little magazines to which the reprint industry itself has devoted so much attention. None the less the reviews which we print this week of the reprints of *Poetry London, Der Sturm, Left Review, The Tribunal* and some little poetry magazines of rather more questionable merit do go to show how important this aspect of the business remains.

What, then, about the new magazines appearing today? Already one can see the shades of the reprint house closing about some of them, though whether this is entirely a compliment or not isn't quite clear. After all, the magazine which the great majority of subscribers choose to keep and bind is hardly likely to be worth photo-reprinting; the old bound sets become too easy to get. Thus *Punch*, so far as we know, has not been reprinted in this way, nor has the old *Strand Magazine*, nor the *Illustrated London News*. We, on the other hand, have, and so have many other literary journals which seem likely to be needed as source material by students. And no doubt some of the new crop of magazines will go the same way.

Theatre Quarterly, for instance, looks like being of permanent value, for three good reasons. Its first quarterly issue (January-March, 112pp., Methuen/Eyre and Spottiswoode, 80p) contains not only several items of the kind that might have appeared in the late lamented *Encore*—articles by Jan Kott, Albert Hunt and Peter Weiss, for instance, an excellent essay on television playwriting by Allan Prior and an interview with William Gaskill, who is particularly good on actors' reluctance to phrase a sentence properly—but also studies in considerably more depth of the plans for the Barbican theatre, and the work of the Victoria Theatre, Stoke-on-Trent, all backed up by a solid slab of reference material: book lists, potted descriptions of "underground" companies and chronologies of theatrical events in Britain, Germany and the United States (but not France).

Academic periodicals tend to be more stereotyped, and the new quarterly *European Studies Review* (88pp., Macmillan Journals, £1.25) is no exception. Edited from Lancaster University, with an impressively distinguished international editorial board, it contains articles and reviews such as might well appear in a number of other historical or literary journals, though maybe the juxtaposition of the two areas is itself new. Some kind of editorial statement would have been welcome here, since it is not really very clear what the magazine is trying to achieve.

The Human World, on the other hand (95pp., Brynmill Publishing Co., Swansea, 40p), bears every mark of a positive editorial policy; indeed a good deal of its first quarterly issue could have been written by one hand, and unusually well written at that. This is not in the normal sense an academic journal, even though it appears to originate among dons, for the object is to be nonspecialist and to print no academic literary criticism, but to attack "the prevailing climate of the 'technicologico-Benthamite enlightenment'". There are thoughtful articles here on Europe, on the reading of plays and on ethical rewards and punishments, as well as two short stories; but the strength of the journal seems to lie in its criticism of what it calls "our centres of national consciousness", including (in this issue) the Church of England and its New Bible, Desmond Morris and his apes, the National Council for Civil Liberties and its side-tracks, and *The Times* as it was before last September's changes.

Finally a student magazine from Sussex, in other words a "little magazine" of the accepted kind, typewriter-set but laid out with a professional air. This is *News from Nowhere* (30pp., 20 Bedford Square, Brighton), which differs from the norm in rooting itself in the visions of William Morris, somewhat as the *New Reasoner* once sought to do but with greater emphasis on the arts. It also harks back rather further, to *Left Review* itself, printing two of Randall Swingler's now neglected poems as well as Arnold Rattenbury's "Cartwheel" and "Of Mutiny". The liveliest and most original article here describes a play devised by the children of a city secondary modern school. Like *Theatre Quarterly*'s pages on the work carried out at Stoke, this too suggests that theatre is still an exciting growth area in our culture today.

* * *

Any Proustian who has done a bit of acting, or actor who has read a bit of Proust, should have been fired last week by the example of Greta Garbo, who has put in for the [...] Queen of Naples in the [...] of *A la recherche du te*[...] (and what experience, [...] film-fans, could more [...] ing the teeth into a mad[...] the sight of Greta Garbo [...] again after all these years [...] doubtful, though, whether [...] tor of the film, Luchino Vis[...] be open to offers from [...] dates since at a press conf[...] Rome last week he showed [...] had plenty of ideas about [...] play whom when he start[...] later this year.

For the part of Marcel, [...] tor of Proust's million-odd [...] has in mind the hardly ine[...] able figures of Marlon Bra[...] Sir Laurence Olivier; for M[...] violinist, Helmut Berger; [...] Feuillère is down to play M[...] durin and Silvana Mang[...] Duchess of Guermantes. [...] sections of the novel that [...] own following will expect [...] done will be those introdu[...] lurid and degenerate figu[...] baron de Charlus, for which [...] director is thinking of Ala[...] or Dustin Hoffman.

As an author, Proust ha[...] conti two advantages: he [...] he left behind no troubleso[...] of-kin to protect his text [...] does not believe in sticking [...] to his originals and in Rome [...] fided somewhat ungenerou[...] hard it had been for him to [...] version of Albert Camus[...] *L'Etranger* with Camus [...] obliging him to stick rigorous[...] to the printed word. More [...] demanded of him, he comp[...] faithfulness that he found [...] jective and absurd"; which [...] iously, as neat a summary [...] Camus's own *Weltanschauung* [...] could expect to hear at a p[...] ference.

Reprinting the classics

HENRY FIELDING:
The History of the Adventures of Joseph Andrews and of his friend Mr. Abraham Adams and An Apology for the Life of Mrs. Shamela Andrews
400pp. Cloth, £6.30, Leather, £12.60.

JOSEPH CONRAD:
Nostromo
449pp. Cloth, £9.45. Leather, £16.80.

JONATHAN SWIFT:
A Tale of a Tub
198pp. Cloth, £6.30. Leather, £14.70.

CHARLES DICKENS:
David Copperfield
794pp. Cloth, £19. Leather, £32.
The Fraser Press.

Take any group of devotees of good printing and good book-making in discussion on the merits of this or that name in the great days of the private presses, and sooner or later they will move on to the Nonesuch Press. Not that the Nonesuch Press was a private press in the accepted sense, nor even a printing house, but a publishing venture extraordinary. The aim was to issue classics finely printed and illustrated, and printed by normal mechanical means in sufficient numbers to enable the books to be sold at a reasonable price.

Since that time there have been other publishing ventures of a similar kind, reprinting classic literature written in English in a format aimed to give pleasure to hand and eye. George Macy launched the Limited Editions Club of New York before the Second World War, based on a regular subscribing membership of 1,500 and the publication of one book a month, thus benefiting from an assured sale. Book designers, illustrators and printers are chosen from all over Europe and the United States, so that there is tremendous variety and vitality in format and illustration, and scholarly editing is part of the policy and is equally widespread. From this in turn sprang The Heritage Club, which is a cheaper offset version, slightly reduced and with fewer illustrations, of the original limited editions and with a vastly wider membership.

Just recently The Imprint Society has started at Barre, Massachusetts, which plans to issue ten books a year in numbered editions limited to 1,950 copies, each designed, illustrated, and printed by a different hand.

In England we have the Folio Society, which operates with an almost unlimited subscription list, running at more than 27,000 at the present time and on a world-wide basis. They publish one book a month, and occasional specials as and when the occasion demands. Here the books have been on the whole smaller in format, all house-designed, mostly illustrated, and produced by good printers and binders.

Recently another contender has entered the field under the Fraser Press imprint. Gordon Fraser will be still remembered as a somewhat unorthodox bookseller in Cambridge before the Second World War, and clearly books have always been a first love. The first titles were *Gargantua and Pantagruel* and *Wuthering Heights*, and now come *Joseph Andrews* and *Shamela, Nostromo, A Tale of a Tub*, and *David Copperfield*. Of these only the last is illustrated, with the original Phiz engravings printed by offset. Further titles announced are *A Sentimental Journey, Don Juan*, and *Moby Dick*. The books are house-designed, and produced, as with the Folio Society, by the best printers and binders in England and, as with the Limited Editions Club, in editions limited for the time being to 1,500 numbered copies. One wonders who can have thought up the idea of numbering them in roman numerals—"middle olivvies" as they used to be called. If one thinks about numbers like DCCCLXXXVIII, one begins to appreciate what a problem that can be. On the whole, the typography is severe to the point of starkness, particularly *Nostromo* which doesn't seem to rise above 11 point throughout its 450 pages except for a hand-lettered title. This seems a pity, for surely here is a wonderful opportunity to rise above the norm of general publishers' penny-paring restrictions; a chance to launch out into fresh ground. The binding comes either in cloth or leather, but here again the design falls very short of the level one would expect for books which have at the same time clear signs of having been produced carefully and on the whole sensibly. Even so, one could hardly handle with any comfort four and three quarter pounds' weight of *David Copperfield*.

Reprinting the classics has always been a good sell, stretching back as far as Aldus, who might be said to have made a good thing out of his small 16mos of the Latin poets in Venice not more than fifty years after the invention of printing. During our own lifetime there have been "Everyman", "World's Classics", the "Traveller's Library", and many others whose aim was to bring English literature within reach of the humblest purse and thus help the spread of education and humanities. A relic perhaps of the virtuous Victorian passion to do good, and not without a shrewd eye for the commercial possibilities. All this could only be done by *standardizing the format* [...] ing down production co[...] absolute minimum. But this [...] necessarily mean dullness [...] have surely shown, w[...] spired guidance of Jan [...] how good a well-set page [...] look even when printed [...] newsprint. It is inspiration [...] so often lacking; the in[...] which makes a book stand [...] its fellows, both the inside [...] outside, and persuades you [...] to read again and again.

These books are by [...] aimed at the coffee tab[...] primarily designed to stand [...] shelf and be read, and [...] mostly reprints of books wh[...] either gone out of print or [...] available in a many-times [...] edition from worn type. In [...] they serve a good purpose [...] the case of the Fraser Press [...] good deal more life in the [...] and encouragement to book[...] tors, would certainly and [...] better value for money.

Hair

Three lines from the libretto of *Hair* are quoted as an epigraph to Wilson Knight's **Neglected Powers** (£5.25) published by us only two weeks ago. Such an epigraph may seem strange at the head of the work of one of our great critics, famed for his interpretation of Shakespeare, Byron and other masters in our literature. But the *Hair* epigraph is appropriate. **Neglected Powers** is the view of a modern mind as original, dynamic and, in its own way, as startling and energizing as *Hair*, in the interpretation of nineteenth and twentieth century literature and its field of force.

ROUTLEDGE & KEGAN PAUL
68 Carter Lane, London EC4 V 5EL



The Holly Bush, Hampstead, photographed in 1950 before the brewers were taken over and pressurized beer introduced.

The public and its house

MASS-OBSERVATION:
The Pub and the People
350pp. Welwyn Garden City: Seven Dials Press. £3.

[...] public-house world is a remarkable brew of continuity and flux. Will the wheel come [...]cle, with your genuine Vic[...] music-hall pub, after so many [...] phases of restyling and re[...]ding itself (at enormous ex[...]) nally reconstructed as your [...] Victorian music-hall pub? [...]manly spittoon—a powerful [...] already declining emblem in [...]orktown" (Bolton) drinking [...] studied by Mass-Observa[...] the 1930s—be rescued from [...] or potted-plant shelf and [...] to its lowly place of honour [...]ionable virility-symbol?

[...]ving pensioner from *The* [...] *the People* survey, first [...] in 1943, would scarcely [...]se it, or get much joy from [...]al upgrading of the—to [...]ormously expensive pint. [...]e Bolton—though it would [...]take to regard it as ever a [...] "Lancashire town (nor is it [...] as such)—preserve more [...]y than most; and the ob[...] who took a second look at [...] ten years ago were struck [...] basic similarities to the [...]cture. But change has gal[...]ce then, the price of beer [...]bled again, and over the [...]d it could be said that [...] everything in the drinking [...]s changed except drinking. [...]s are more conservative [...]blicans and their masters [...]hed by a competitive neu[...]al them with desperate [...]ons of hushed visual res[...]y and aural bedlam; [...]c wallpaper displaces art [...] eerie muzak is succeeded [...] pop, the rattle of one[...]ndits competes with televi[...]n. Undeterred, the drinkers [...] might have been more at [...] those prewar "Worktown" [...] least they would have been [...] talk—or, better still, to [...]s the marvellous conversa[...]s that make *The Pub and* [...] so permanently valuable [...]ent. *How did* John Som[...] and his team—at the height [...] anti-Prodnose [...] social snooping was far [...]ptable than nowadays— [...] to get their fascinating [...] Now, when Prodnoses are [...] granted, a brisk raid by a [...]ering crew would cause no [...] Market researchers, film- [...] Special Branch men, a tele[...] documentary team—who [...] now, or much care? The [...] would be framing answers [...]estions before they were [...] The job must have been [...]der then. How did these [...]s get themselves accepted [...] talk-freezing suspicion? [...]ly they were taken for [...]rant drinkers fallen on [...], a common enough phe[...] in the 1930s. As Tom [...] remarks in his preface to [...], the Boltonic idea would [...] that nobody would sit [...] sawdust bar supping his [...]f he could afford to be [...]se. But the Mass-Obser[...]hod was also significantly [...] from the more sophisti[...] superficial techniques of [...], which the intervening [...]selves tend to make the [...] the question, or at least [...]ld, is commonly begged, [...]on knew about watching [...]watching tribes. Yet there [...] to it than that. Human [...]d to be made, sympathy [...] at a level modern inves[...]d it convenient to ignore, [...] the things that count [...]t be said to a stranger", [...]on remarks.

[...] to avoid being strangers, [...]ualified themselves for a [...]mporary admission ticket [...]cal public-house society, [...]mpressive time-scale de[...]ng in full:

[...]e reconnaissance and des[...]reliminary penetration, 3 [...] by observers into all parts [...]m pub life, 2 months. [...] without being observed. [...] more openly; active [...] of people in [...] study of individuals, letters, diaries, documents, 3 months.

Data from important people, 2 months.
Studies of statistics, organizations and published sources, 3 months.

Humanly the method paid off handsomely; and what dates the book almost more than anything else is the fact that when a sociological question gets a sensible answer, however humiliating, it duly goes in the record ("What the bloody hell dost tha tak it for?" was one man's response when asked why he drank). That they got as much cooperation as they did is remarkable in view of the fact that this was a close and defensive beer-drinking community, having to cope with guilt feelings imposed by a morally reproving society. An almost furtive air of privacy is generated by Humphrey Spender's photographs, none of which could be published when the book originally came out.

Today the pressures are different—how different was revealed in a recent debate in the House of Lords, amid the ever-busy bars of the Palace of Westminster, when the "growing evil" of alcoholism (accepted as steady drinking, not simply drunkenness) was seen as a stress condition having more to do with economic, medical and environmental than with moral concerns. The simple men of Bolton seemed to go along with this attitude, up to a point. Health reasons were often given (showing that they responded to the current advertisements) when they were asked why they drank, and a degree of "stress condition" could presumably be read into a reply like this: "I only live across the road and I pass a couple of hours in 'ere ow'l'road o'l'wife." To be able to inspire such frankness seems all the more surprising in the light of the rather formidable birdwatching techniques sometimes employed.

"We timed over a thousand drinkers, sipping their gills under natural conditions, not knowing they were observed." Even realizing that gills are half-pints of beer, the impression conveyed from a statement like that is of some strange, rare ritual, like the dancing of cranes. The statistical data also have touches of fantasy, though there is no doubting the human solidity of these drinkers as they consume their 2.13 pints a night (or 3.16 if they are "regulars"), wearing caps to trilbies in a ratio of 92 to 8, competing for the two spittoons which cater for 21 seats, or 10.5 seats per spittoon. That is in the taproom; in the parlour the figure is 8.6. What, more spitting accommodation in the parlour than the tap? Unusual, a footnote admits; but it has been observed, so in it goes.

The things customers liked to talk about are listed with elaborate decimal-point subject-ratings, gathered not just in pubs (642 references) but also in streets (1,607), tramcars (332), and urinals (168); the conclusion being that the trend "emphasizes the social nature of the pub and its talk". This implies a certain reticence and may explain why "women friends" come down the list, though slightly above "enemies" and "pleasures". But when the survey turns to sustained conversations as against mere passing references, women and sex are entirely unplaced. At the top of the list is drinking itself, closely followed by betting, sport, money, and work; with politics well down the field and war, which was just round the corner, at the bottom. Can this absence of sex-talk be realistic?

Perhaps the topic is included under the heading of "personal". Another covering "pets" seems called for, if only to accommodate the man who frightened women customers by whipping a live tortoise from his pocket and excused himself by saying, "It's only thirty-six".

Certainly the book proves one thing—how vivid working-class dialogue can be without the use of what the authors call "the odd half dozen common words that at the moment are never printed in England". Partly it is the natural vitality of the speech, partly the brilliance of its presentation:

Two men, about 50, caps and scarves, shiny worn blue suits, quarrelling about politics. One keeps saying "If tha' doesn't like t'country why doesn't thee go away. No one stops me getting a living." Then he suddenly shouts "Why shouldn't t'king and queen be there, I'm for them. They should be there." Other replies "Why should they be there?" "I'll not argue that", says first man aggressively. And they begin to shout at each other.

The landlady says "Now shut up". The others standing round laugh, but the landlady comes round into the bar, looking threatening, and the others stop laughing and also say "Shut up" but in a helpful way. Landlady collars the anti-monarchist and says "No politics, now shut up will you." The other drunk turns away and looks complacently virtuous. . . .

Reading that, one feels that Dickens also did a solid stint of observing, in the pub that became the Six Jolly Fellowship Porters.

On drunkenness, the official statistics of the day provided a reassuring but unreliable guide to the real situation. For every two pubs in Bolton there was one prosecution a year. Yet some of these dialogues come from groups where "no-one is very sober", and the study pays special attention to what it calls social drunkenness, "the group intoxication of large numbers of people". Stress cases all, would their lordships say? Or has the disease, if that is what it is, largely shifted since those days from the working to the professional classes? How are we to distinguish—as the Government spokesman in that parliamentary debate asked, without beginning to answer his own question—between "normal social drinkers" and alcoholics? Has the great drive for respectable drinking, that acceptability image on which the trade has unleashed so much treasure, turned us into a nation of quiet addicts? There is no cure, Lord Soper said; "only a condition of permanent convalescence". In a sense one could say the same about life.

Respectability began in the "Worktown" pubs when people began to spit into the spittoons instead of just anywhere. In the superior bars, for fear of frightening the bronze horses and shaming the aspidistra and the paper doilies, the spittoons were often dry and had acquired a "symbolic or ritualistic character". Even in the rooms where they were still functional, younger drinkers were beginning to show a self-conscious attitude towards these ceremonious vessels of blue or green china, white enamel or burnished copper, and were using them disrespectfully for mock target-practice.

Already, by the mid-1930s, the pub as a headquarters of local pop culture was in decline. Yet when, in 1960, Mr Sommerfield went back on an extended crawl of the pubs originally observed, he found more drinking going on (particularly at midday), more women in the pubs, more bitter beer and short drinks being ordered; but under the table-mats and the Formica, behind the television and the nudie calendars, the essentials were much the same. Gone were the old hawkers selling hot pies, bootlaces, black pudding, and embrocation, but he did find a surviving spittoon in one pub, retained because there was a surviving spitter. This showed, on more levels than one, a customer-sensitivity unlikely to be found today.

A third look, more thorough than the topping-up we were given in Tom Harrisson's *Britain Revisited* ten years ago, would be most welcome. Could Mr. Sommerfield still say, as he so surprisingly did then, that behind the trimmings the "Worktown" pub remains as they

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—*Kay Dick, The Times.* £1·80

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FABER & FABER

drew it in the 1930s? A comparison is drawn in *The Pub and the People* between the landlord-pub-customer and the parson-church-congregation relationships, all the more telling since church life was not only more active then but far more zealous in its anti-drink campaigning. Here was an alternative ritual, antagonistic because morally driven underground, and the detailed parallels need no labouring.

Does the old taproom, with its austere furnishing and rigid observances, survive in modern "Worktown"? The only place one can think of that echoes its severe standards, including its scorn of applied decoration and the taboo against women standing at the bar, is London's most sophisticated wine-house, El Vino's—recently the target of a determined and much-publicized female demonstration. That bit could never have happened in Bolton. All the same, the humble beerhouse and the modish wine bar have more in common than either has with the contemporary brewer's pride, the flourishing suburban pub. Though that particular battle was lost, the women's war for drinking liberation is won. That is one thing a new survey would have to record, even though pockets of resistance may be holding out in bars where, as the original team note, "the males who come to it come singly. They know they will meet company there. To the vault you go singly, to the lounge in groups."



A village pub in Derbyshire.

Class segregation was rigid and unquestioned in those old days; the vault man was the vault man, the chap in the lounge was the chap in the lounge, and the twain never met unless they bumped into each other on the way to the (often still neutral) "gents". Now, though the divisions are at least as strong, the movements are more complex. Just as the pint—once the leading masculinity-emblem in the drinking world, the thing that sorted [...] from the loung[...] become classless, so t[...] lesser extent so far t[...] bar. In parts of Lon[...] signs that it may becom[...] place to drink, and th[...] advantages as well as [...] lower prices. It is quite [...] crowded, and more li[...] escaped the etching t[...] brewer's architect.

For the rest, any fre[...] our drinking habits as w[...] the day of the tasteful [...] clients is certain to [...] more new variation[...] themes. In the days of *T[...] the People* there was a [...] of mild, accepted and [...] doned illegality, ofte[...] with beating the gamb[...] drinking after hours. [...] likely to be concerned [...] the breathalyser, or dr[...] hours. For in the 197[...] 1930s the call of "[...] sounds its knell—tho[...] brewers, after a final [...] drinking as pressurized [...] that flows through it, [...] more like a mighty cask[...]

From the hawkers to the high street

DAVID ALEXANDER:

Retailing in England during the Industrial Revolution

282pp. Athlone Press. £3.50.

As early as 1821 it was noted that some London drapers "transact daily so much business as almost to exceed belief. . . . We have known persons in this line, where receipts have averaged five hundred pounds per day, for a long time. In such a shop twenty or thirty persons, or more, are constantly employed." Some years later, it was reported, Mosley Street in Manchester, which once "contained only private dwelling houses . . . is now converted almost entirely into warehouses; and the increasing business of the town is rapidly converting all the principal dwelling-houses which exist in that neighbourhood into mercantile establishments and is drawing most of the respectable inhabitants into the suburbs".

Such were the most striking effects of the retailing revolution of the first half of the nineteenth century. It was by no means a complete revolution, for many important changes were to appear only in later decades, and numbers of old market-towns continued to retain their ancient appearance. Epping in the 1870s was still "a peaceful little country town . . . no footpaths or pavements, the High Street was rough and stony, and during hot weather it was watered to keep down the dust. . . . Some shop windows were illuminated with paraffin lamps or the old-fashioned tallow candles". And a virtue of the Rows of Chester was that they made shopping pleasant "for old ladies of weak minds who quailed at meeting cattle" in the streets.

Retailing, in fact, was in a stage of transition from the long-declining fairs and still active markets to the newly appearing permanent high-street shops. Before this process had gone very far and the shopping habit was fully established, pedlars and street hawkers with trays and barrows still drove their trade. Competition of this kind was especially marked in vegetables, fruit, and fish, where shops, generally selling a superior class of produce, were late to appear. Markets too continued, but more as permanent collections of stalls in specially-built covered market halls, following the lead given by Liverpool in 1818. The removal of street markets and growth of shops were consequences of the process of urbanization and were associated with the street-widening, paving, lighting, and other improvements that followed the rapid expansion of towns as commercial centres.

Most of the new retail establishments were small—the "monster shops" of the drapery trades were untypical—and many were outlets for a tradesman's workshop, bakehouse, or butchery located in the rear of the premises. Some retail trades, like grocery, involved much skill in the specialized functions of cleaning, grinding, mixing, grading, and packing of produce. Branded goods were coming in, including Fry's cocoa and Sir Hans Sloane's chocolate, but they were not common before the middle of the century.

There were marked differences in the class of custom catered for, and the less genteel establishments resorted to advertising in search of a wider market. In the 1840s Albert & Co., tailors in the City of London, were offering:

> Gentlemen's superior Clothing, at prices much lower than any respectable house has hitherto offered the public . . . [clothes which] will prove by the superiority of wear much cheaper than those by which they are too often deluded by perambulating advertisements, pamphlets, etc. issued by slop-sellers and hosiers, offering their slovenly made-up rubbish at prices that will barely pay for the labour of a well-made garment.

More enterprising still were E. Moses & Sons, of the Minories and Aldgate, who posted free of charge a pamphlet with "a wood-cut and full directions" for self-measurement, so that provincial customers might avail themselves of the "opportunity of purchasing at the greatest Trading Establishment in the Kingdom".

Dr. Alexander's stud[...] much shorter period th[...] monly understood by t[...] Revolution, nearly all t[...] coming from the th[...] after 1820. In parts, [...] rather like a doctoral the[...] form it originated. It a[...] study in depth and do[...] than merely describe the[...] opment of shops and [...] The relationship of sh[...] trading is discussed, a[...] section considers the eff[...] port developments [...] Material has been wi[...] from local as well as [...] chives, and the statistic[...] on credit transaction[...] wages, and shopkeepers'[...]

Distribution has bee[...] aspect of the period[...] major consequence [...] the pioneer work do[...] field, Clapham and [...] of it half a century ago [...] dor's book helps to fill [...] and will encourage fur[...] in this neglected bu[...] feature of modern urban[...]

Peace, Perfect Peace

John E. Coleman* was a C.I.A. agent in Thailand: a quiet American with an unquiet mind. Not, as he admits, the sort of man to be taken in by 'smiling holymen' and 'medical crackpots'. But curious. Curious with a single minded dedication which begins with a hypnotic experience in that Wat Mahntat and takes him via the Maharishi and the Benedictines of Nashdom to the work of the three wise men: Suzuki, U Ba Khin and Krishnamurti; and ends in final solution in Rangoon. His grail is 'nirvana' or the 'quiet mind', a grail made more pressing by the stresses built up during his 007 years. Not an escape but a new reality—the ability to be calm in chaos. There are no props either—no hallucinatory drugs, no chicanery, just many questions and much hard work. And at the end of this Pilgrim's Progress through the mystic world, peace perfect peace.

Taurus

*Author of The Quiet Mind, Rider £2.00 cased, £1.25 paper.

Flat out

ROGER MORTIMER (Compiler):

The Encyclopaedia of Flat Racing

444pp. Robert Hale. £3.50.

Here are some questions for a racing quiz:

Who was the first woman to own a Derby winner?

Who was born in a cab and won four classic races in one year with the same animal?

Who was the millionaire who won the Derby five times but would have been regarded with more respect had he been a little less commercially minded?

Who was the only member of the Jockey Club ever to be awarded the D.C.M. (a decoration for valour restricted to N.C.O.s and men)?

Of what leading figure in the racing world can it be said that it would have been to his own benefit and to the benefit of the sport too if he had numbered urbanity and tact among his virtues?

What great nobleman won the Derby five times, twice with four-year-olds?

Who was the jockey who won the Triple Crown in 1918 and gave all his riding fees to his regimental funds?

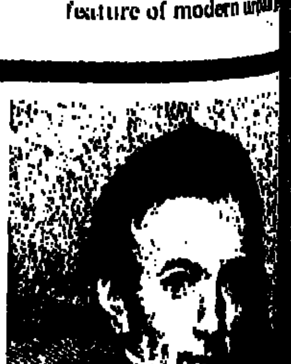
Needless to say the answers to all these questions and many more are to be found in Roger Mortimer's *The Encyclopaedia of Flat Racing*, which is elegantly produced, well illustrated and not unduly bulky. It includes the rules of racing in full, scales of weight for age, particulars of every British racecourse, and the best times for each distance at it, as well as showing the winners of all important flat races since 1930; so the statistical side is extremely well covered.

In addition there are notes on all the important horses that have raced in this country since the turn of the century and, in the case of those who have left their mark in the stud book, even as far back as the Darley Arabian.

On people, Mr. Mortimer has been highly and enjoyably idiosyncratic both in his selection and his comments. Mr. Horatio Bottomley is rather surprisingly included, but there are no bookmakers, and the number of owners has obviously had to be restricted to the more important. This ruling does not, however, apply to trainers and jockeys, who are more than adequately represented. Mr. Mortimer already has a history of the Jockey Club to his credit, so the half-dozen pages he devotes to this institution are particularly accurate and informative.

Since this is a book which all who are interested in flat racing will want for reference and entertainment, it is annoying that it should have gone to print in the middle of Nijinsky's record-breaking career, and that he should not therefore be credited, even if only by an erratum slip, with his due, namely the Triple Crown and the highest total won by a horse in a season.

PETER MARK ROGET



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Longm[...]

[T]o the Editor

[B]ooker Prize

[...]We agree with the points made [...] eleven publishing correspon[...] [F]ebruary 5). Obviously further [...]tion of fiction publishing in [...] autumn should, in general, be [...]ged. On the other hand we have [...] that it is difficult to revive a [...]year to fifteen months after its [...] publication, whatever its [...]d the French have demonstra[...] value of prize and publication [...]is nearly simultaneous as

[...]hers may already have to resist [...] requests to be published in the [...] Our change of timing will [...] a little harder for them to do [...] would like to think, however, [...] great increase in sales and pres[...] this could achieve for the win[...]ok, for the short-listed books [...]aps even for all fiction, would [...]outweigh any disadvantage put [...] by your distinguished corres[...]

MARTYN GOFF.
[...]RDINGE OF PENSHURST.
TOM MASCHLER.
JOHN MURPHY.
[...]e Booker Prize Committee)
[...]ford Square, London, W.C.1.

[S]olzhenitsyn

[Si]nce I seem to have wandered [...]he looking-glass into a contro[...] [...] Humpty Dumpty I must con[...] Lionel Bloch (February 12) on [...] knock-down argument. It [...] course have any relevance to [...]ws I hold, or have ever [...]; but before coming to that [...]amine the way in which, when [...] uses words, they mean just [...] chooses them to mean.

[...]t of my letter of January 29 [...]ith Solzhenitsyn's manuscripts [...]t was intended to make one [...]at the *K.G.B.* was not circu[...]s of Solzhenitsyn's manu[...] in order "to confuse [...] potential [Western] [...]", as Lionel Bloch claimed, [...] prevent their publication in [...]itsyn's own country. As evidence [...] I cited two documents from [...]*itsyn: A Documentary Record*: [...] paper on K.G.B. machina[...]cording to which the K.G.B. [...] the West through Victor Louis [...]*Cancer Ward* in order to block [...]ation in the Soviet Union"; [...] telegram from the editors of [...] magazine *Grani* to the editor [...] *Mir*, announcing their inten[...] publishing *Cancer Ward* imme[...] because the K.G.B. had sent [...] copy to the West" to block its [...]on in *Novy Mir*".

[...] two documents are perfectly [...] and both state in simple [...] that it is publication *in the* [...]*Union* which the K.G.B. is try[...] prevent, so my case should be [...] simple one. But we are of [...] Looking-Glass Land, where [...] informs us that the words [...] publication in *Novy Mir*" [...] what they obviously do [...] long rigmarole of his [...] "that this émigré [...]ing house was also with[...] publication of *Cancer* [...] it learnt that there was no [...] point in doing so since the [...] made sure that it would [...] appear in the West through [...]us publishers". But even [...]he simple original sentence [...] hardly supports his case [...]G.B. wanting to discourage [...] in the West, since publica[...] West was the thing the [...]re achieving by sending their [...]s to alternative publishers. [...]n why *Grani* had *not* pub[...]*ncer Ward* was also stated [...]fically by the editors, who [...] a considerable time already [...]ir disposal a copy of the [...] of *Cancer Ward* by A. [...]. The journal has so far [...] from publishing this manu[...] it seemed that there was [...] of publication of *Cancer* [...] the Moscow [journal] *Novy*

[...] point it is necessary to point [...] Bloch the difference between [...] theory. What the K.G.B. did [...] its reasons for doing so are [...] theory; Mr. Bloch's theory [...] motive was to con[...] potential pub[...] while mine is that [...] publication in the [...] second para[...]graph, which is as nice a presentation of *my* case as I could have made myself.

In Mr. Bloch's third paragraph, he gets himself into a complete muddle, by saying "the battle for the publication of *The First Circle* and *Cancer Ward* in the Soviet Union was lost before their appearance in the West". It should hardly be necessary to repeat that it is the battle for *Cancer Ward* that is at issue in the *Grani* announcement, and that the "act of sabotage" which the *Grani* editors say the K.G.B. has embarked upon is the sabotage of the publication of this novel in Russia. It should be equally unnecessary to point out the difference between *Cancer Ward*, which is still unpublished in the Soviet Union, and *Ivan Denisovich*, which had been published in *Novy Mir* two months before it appeared in English translation.

Mr. Bloch's last four paragraphs are the nice knock-down argument, in which he attributes to me absurd views which I do not hold, and then proceeds to demonstrate that they are indeed absurd. I did outline two subsidiary reasons for Solzhenitsyn's objection to unauthorized publication of his works, which Mr. Bloch produces as though they were original thoughts of his own. Otherwise, Mr. Bloch attributes a whole series of statements to me which I never made, as anyone can easily see by comparing my letter with his.

I did not either say or suggest that Solzhenitsyn "was concerned only with his freedom to publish in Russia, but not elsewhere". I throughout talked about *unauthorized* publication in the West because of the claim by the Swiss lawyer Dr. Fritz Heeb that he is Solzhenitsyn's authorized attorney, a claim which seems to have been widely accepted, and that his intention is precisely to safeguard Solzhenitsyn's rights in the West.

To sum up, Mr. Bloch has been putting forward a case which is quite simply untenable, and he himself disproves it by the evidence he offers; he then tries to conceal this fact (from himself as well as everybody else) by four paragraphs of bluster which attribute to me statements that I did not make.

The overall view of Solzhenitsyn that I have put forward is, I think, a perfectly well-argued one, expressed in reasonably comprehensible English. I am certainly not claiming that my interpretation of Solzhenitsyn's works is the *only* one possible, and it is open to anybody to argue out the case for a different one. No one has yet tried to do so, but Robert Conquest and Mr. Bloch have instead made attacks on me which were mere exercises in point-scoring. They haven't scored any points, for the simple reason that in order to do so it is necessary to have a tenable case. My original intention was to disagree with an article in *Encounter*, to which I had quite specific objections which I made in a letter to that journal. So far from "loftily assuming" that criticisms which were never made by me "extend to all Western publishers", or making any "blanket accusation", I was not even attacking *Encounter* in general, but merely R's column in its January number. It is high time to get back to the real Solzhenitsyn and drop this correspondence on irrelevant side-issues which have now become a matter of "impenetrability". And what Humpty Dumpty meant by that word, it will be recalled, is "that we've had enough of that subject". (Incidentally, "the meaning of death" in the penultimate paragraph of my ~~last letter~~, as printed on February 12, should of course be "the meaning of life.")

KONSTANTIN BAZAROV.
117 Reidhaven Road, London, S.E.18.

Science Journals

Sir,—I am sorry that it seems necessary to write to you each time we publish a new journal. On this occasion I wish merely to say that your contributor to Commentary (February 5) seems not to have appreciated the difference between *Science Studies* and *Minerva*. The first, the newcomer, is intended as a vehicle for the publication of original research in fields such as that often called the sociology of science; the second, as you appear to appreciate, is a well-established journal dealing with research of all kinds, not always scientific, and the institutions in which research is carried out, usually universities. *Minerva* has, as you again acknowledge, its own characteristic view on how arrangements should be made for conducting research.

Your [...] should know—and indeed you could have found out by looking at the cover—that *Minerva* is published in collaboration with the International Association for Cultural Freedom and that this company is not of course in a position to determine its future or its fate.

JOHN MADDOX.
Macmillan Journals Ltd., Macmillan, Little Essex Street, London, W.C.2.

Henry James and Dickens

Sir,—In his important chapter on *Little Dorrit* in the recent book, *Dickens the Novelist*, by F. R. and Q. D. Leavis (page 247), Dr. F. R. Leavis makes the charge that in *The Princess Casamassima* Henry James was dependent upon memories of Dickens for his pictures of London life. This view, consonant with his dismissal of the novel as "feeble" and "one of James's most embarrassing failures" (*Spectator*, August 2, 1963), but quite discordant with his still earlier view (*Scrutiny*, Vol. V, No. 4, 1937) that the novel has "an earthy and sappy vitality", is now put forward with a vehemence which has little to do with *Little Dorrit* and nothing to do with certain known facts in James's writing life. The passage runs:

> His dependence on Dickens . . . may fairly be called parasitic. Thus the prison, the child protagonist whose young life is intimately associated with it, and the seamstress in the squalid area of London, are plainly vague memories of *Little Dorrit*, used in *The Princess Casamassima* for atmosphere unconvincingly, since James had no corresponding first-hand knowledge.

So far from being "plainly vague memories of *Little Dorrit*", the prison scenes have two obvious sources in James's own life. The first was his childhood visit to Sing-Sing, movingly described in his autobiographical *A Small Boy and Others* (Chapter XIII). The second was a visit to Millbank Prison late in 1884, specifically undertaken to collect "notes for a fiction scene", as he informed T. S. Perry, adding: "Look out for the same—a year hence." A year thence he was writing and publishing *The Princess Casamassima*. The combined first-hand experiences of Sing-Sing and Millbank may surely be allowed as raw material at least as potent as memories of *Little Dorrit*; and James's indignant comment on what he saw during the second first-hand experience is as pungent as anything he may have recalled from other men's writings. "Millbank Prison", he wrote to Perry, "is a worse act of violence than any it was erected to punish." (The visit is recorded, and the Perry letter quoted, in the third volume of Leon Edel's biography, *The Middle Years, 1884-1894*, pages 85-86.)

As for the imputation of a lack of acquaintance with "the squalid area of London", it is sad to find so normally acute a critic of James believing that he could have lived in London without noticing anything. Of course James owed much to Dickens: he confessed as much, often and generously and vividly. But why need we challenge his own direct avowal, in the preface, that:

> The simplest account of the origin of *The Princess Casamassima* is, I think, that this fiction proceeded quite directly, during the first year of a long residence in London, from the habit and interest of walking the streets . . . .

That is why James can write of the young hero of his novel (rather than being obliged to echo Dickens):

> . . . but a breath of popular passion had passed over him, and he seemed to see, immensely magnified, the monstrosity of the great ulcers and sores of London—the sick, eternal misery crying, in the darkness, in vain. . . .

And even in such unlikely later stories as *The Altar of the Dead*, James was still sensitive to his first-hand impressions of the wretchedness of "the squalid area of London". Dickens himself does not offer a more compressed social judgment than the terrible phrase: "By day there was nothing, but by night there were lamps."

James was as capable as Dickens of responding creatively to earlier writers. He was as capable as Dickens, too, of keeping his own eyes open.

S. GORLEY PUTT.
Christ's College, Cambridge.

John Cleland in India

Sir,—Since there is as yet no biography of John Cleland, the eighteenth-century novelist and linguist, and the *Dictionary of National Biography* entry contains so many inaccuracies, I thought that your readers might be interested in some details of his experiences in Bombay. (My thanks to Mr. Ian Baxter and his colleagues at the India Office Records for their kind help in collecting much of this information.)

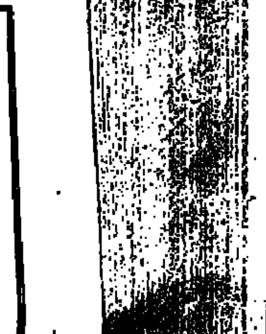
The *DNB* entry derives essentially from an obituary in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for February, 1789, probably written by William Bowyer, the printer. It places Cleland in Smyrna in 1734 and records his expulsion from Bombay in 1736 after a disagreement with the Mayor's Council. Unfortunately for this attempt to give appropriate credentials to a "pornographer", Cleland was in fact an honoured employee of the Bombay office of the East India Company for the period from 1731 to 1740, constantly being given new responsibilities and periodic rises in salary until he became Secretary of the Bombay Council.

Mr. William Epstein of Purdue University informs me that Cleland had been in Bombay as a soldier since 1728. But his activities as a bonded employee began with his appointment as a writer on February 10, 1731, with sureties of £500 deposited by his father William Cleland and by Slingsby Bethel. John Cleland took up his duties on July 19, 1731. He continued as a writer until January, 1735, when he was paid a split salary, three months as a writer at £5 a year and three months as a factor at £15 a year. In February, 1737, Cleland was made provisional head of the Mahim Customs House, and in June Secretary for Portuguese Affairs, a post to which he was recommended for his experience and fluency in the language. In January, 1738, he was again paid a split salary, three months as factor and three months as junior merchant at £30 a year. On October 20, 1738, he succeeded John Dacres as Secretary of the Bombay Council. Cleland seems to have severed his relationship with the Company in Bombay on September 20, 1740. On March 26, 1741, he reported to the Court of Directors in London.

While Cleland was in Bombay he participated in at least two lawsuits, which may have been the dim source of the *DNB* reference to his expulsion. His conduct on both cases is not exceptionable, and in neither was any judgment returned against him. In the first a William Boagg demanded the return of a slave girl whom Cleland asserted had been freed. In the second case Cleland was accused by Henry Lowther of Surat of improper conduct [...] representing an Indian merchant [...] was suing Lowther. In this instance Cleland may have performed an important service, for soon afterwards Lowther's embezzling and other criminal activities in Surat were exposed, and Cleland himself journeyed there as part of the investigating group.

Some information about Cleland's activities in the 1740s has also been uncovered, but it is too fragmentary to expose at the present time. I present the above information in the hopes of stimulating interest in his varied career and the desire to shatter the teleological moralism of the *DNB* account, which assumes that the author of "a scandalously indecent book" must have had an immoral and chaotic youth to prepare himself properly.

LEO BRAUDY.
416 Hamilton Hall, Department of English and Comparative Literature, Columbia University in the City of New York, New York, N.Y. 10027, U.S.A.



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Playing at soldiers

H. G. WELLS:
Little Wars
111pp. Arms and Armour Press. £1.70.

General Sir Stanley Maude, who died so tragically of cholera in Baghdad in 1917, remained passionately devoted to playing with toy soldiers, despite the jeers of his schoolboy contemporaries, until he was well into his teens. The French General Koenig, who died last year, was an avid collector of them all his days. But it may be a revelation to some that H. G. Wells, the archpacifist and the author of *The Shape of Things to Come*, was also an addict, and in his middle age. He was forty-seven when *Little Wars* was originally published, only a few years after Saki's classic short story, "The Toys of Peace". The present edition is a beautifully produced facsimile of the original, itself an expansion of two articles which appeared in 1913 in the *Windsor Magazine*.

Claiming proudly to be in the tradition of *Uncle Toby and Corporal Trim*, Wells describes this game of "Little Wars" or "Kriegspiel" which he devised as

> the game of kings—for players in an inferior social position. It can be played by boys of every age from twelve to one hundred and fifty—and even later if the limbs remain sufficiently supple.

His co-inventor was one "J.K.J.", evidently Jerome K. Jerome. Wells records its gradual development and the codification of its rules through trial and error, and how it became possible through the invention of the spring-loader breech gun, "capable of hitting a toy soldier nine times out of ten at a distance of nine yards". The present reviewer's own experiments, dating from a few years later (*circa* 1917), served to show that an even more effective weapon was a toy mortar modified to fire toy Red Cross nurses. Their arrival from a high trajectory on a limited M.P.I., or Mean Point of Impact, as one later learnt to call it while serving with the Colours, was generally lethal; but experience proved that the survivors among the nurses could be salvaged to succour those of their victims who had not been completely pulverized, and to minister to their injuries. This refinement was apparently not known to Wells or to Jerome.

The scene of their original proving-grounds was the drawing room: but they soon encountered that same hostile public opinion which bedevils the Ministry of Defence even today in its choice and retention of training areas. They were forced to look elsewhere, and adjourned to the day nursery:

> It was an easy task for the head of the household to evict his offspring, annex these advantages, and set about planning a more realistic country. (I forget what became of the children.)

There gradually evolved a more glorious, glamorous, elaborate form of L'Attaque, played either in the nursery (on floor or table), or out of doors on a closely mown lawn. Photographic evidence shows that, when played on the lawn, the ... manders-in-chief dir... forces lying on their ... wearing straw boaters.

Wells describes first ... of the game; then ... Rules: then reproduces ... phant dispatch of one "... G. W.", illustrating his ... the Battle of Hook F... photographs by "a ... pondent, A. C. W., a ... ment of her sex" (th... second wife, Amy). He ... strictly codified Rules, ... lation of which he had ... no less a person than ... Sykes.

Little Wars is a su... engaging frolic. One read... that Wells's father was a... cricket professional, and ... is reflected in the involve... scoring in this highly ... game. Towards the end of ... Wells cannot refrain fr... pacifist sermonizing, as ... ance for the fun he b... vicarious battle. Having ... cribed "80 infantry, 50 ca... 4 naval guns and a field ... ideal force for either side ... to suggest this is a... commitment for any wa... that when playing his ga... remarkable how elastic ... ments of quite honest ... able men can become". T... is to cheating, but the ... obvious.

Both the production ... production of the book ... ble, and the original ma... ings of J. R. Sinclair cha...

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Rees's Naval Architecture
183pp. plus 7 plates. Newton Abbot: David and Charles Reprints. £5.25.

This reprint is a happy outcome of its publishers' combined interests in science, technology, and maritime affairs. It provides a most valuable bridge between the era of the individual craftsman and that of mechanized construction and mass production. The majority of its pages are devoted to a highly detailed description of the processes involved in building a sailing ship of the line; its last section, under the heading "Machinery", is an equally comprehensive account of the mechanized process for block-making designed for Portsmouth Dockyard by Marc Isambard Brunel.

Abraham Rees (1743-1825) was an outstanding example of the connexion between Nonconformity and science which did much to rectify the almost complete neglect of the subject in the Anglican-dominated universities of late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century England. He was the son of Lewis Rees, himself a pillar of South Wales Nonconformity, and was educated for the ministry at Coward's Academy, which in 1759 moved from Wellclose Square to Hoxton. In 1762, at the end of his studies, he was appointed Tutor in Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. In 1786 he moved to the Hackney College as Tutor in Hebrew and Mathematics and continued there until 1796. This academic work was combined with the pastoral care of a number of Nonconformist congregations in London, where he gained a high reputation as a preacher.

He published a collection of sermons and a volume of psalms and hymns, but it was as an encyclopedist that he became best known as a writer. His first venture, in 1778, was an improved edition of Ephraim Chambers's *Cyclopaedia* of 1728. Between 1778 and 1791 he published another edition with a great deal of additional material. As a result of this he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society and a Member of the Linnean Society. With this encouragement he set to work on his own *Cyclopaedia or Universal Dictionary of Arts, Science, and Literature* which appeared in thirty-nine volumes, supplemented by six volumes of prints, between 1802 and 1820. The distinctive feature of this compilation was its emphasis on science and technology.

The articles gathered in the present reproduction can be described as a manual of construction for a 74-gun ship of the line from the drawing of the first plan to the rigging and the bending of the sails after launching. Each stage is described in minute detail, including tables of all dimensions and quantities, and also pictorially represented in plans and drawings of extreme accuracy and clarity. Here is the ship of the line at the culmination of its glory at the end of the Napoleonic Wars. In spite of its simplicity, compared with its mechanical successors, the sailing ship of war was one of man's most complex creations and its construction involved many processes themselves far from simple. One of the most important was rope-making, which is also described here, unfortunately without any illustrations of the machinery or the stages of manufacture. This is more than redeemed by the excellent reproduction of the working drawings of Brunel's series of mechanized tools used for block-making. This was one of the first processes in which intricacy of machinery replaced the manual skill of the craftsman and in which the division of labour between different machines made possible an early version of mass production. What impressed Rees was not only the complexity of the machinery but also its reliability. When his article was written it had been working for four years without serious breakdown and the blocks were remarkable for their efficiency and robustness. The whole set of machines was driven by two steam engines which also served to pump out the dry docks. Here is one important aspect of the Industrial Revolution in a nutshell. It is good to know that the public will soon be able to see some of the machinery in working order in the original block-mills in Portsmouth dockyard.

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...r Cass volume contains ... the second edition of ... eames's account of the ... onies of London and ... ary Rachmanism (1850, ... edition 1852). This belongs ... post-Chartist era when there ... formers prepared to question the working of capitalist economics to produce private affluence at the cost of public squalor. Beames, "preacher and assistant of St. James, Westminster", set out to depict, in all its horrors, the urban slum

> where, by the unwritten laws of competition, rents rise and room is economized in proportion; where, because there is no restraint to check the progress of avarice, no statute to make men do their duty, they turn to profit the necessities of their fellow-creatures, and riot on the unhallowed gains which injustice has amassed at the expense of the poor.

Also a tract for the times is *The Education of the People* (1858) by James Augustus St. John, who stigmatized the philosophy of the privileged as akin to that of Mandeville, in promoting private vices as the motive force of economic well-being to the detriment of public welfare. It is a "vast and pernicious fallacy", he declares, to maintain "that slavery does not exist in modern society" when the poor "are still in a condition of servitude". For

> they obey laws which they have no share in making, they pay taxes imposed on them, whether they will or not, by the representatives of other classes; and therefore . . . they belong to the servile class. It is the object of the friends of education to remove from us as a people this stigma, which we have borne much too long.

The aim differs markedly from that of Sir Thomas Bernard who published in 1809 some accounts of schools, gathered from reports of the Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor founded some thirteen years earlier, to persuade all concerned for "the duration and prosperity of our establishment whether in church or state" that "a prudent and practical extension" of education is a preservative for the poor "against the taint of sedition and the poison of infidelity".

These two volumes figure in the second series of "The Social History of Education", published by the Woburn Press under the general editorship of Victor Neuberg, in which useful texts have appeared but without adequate guidance to students in this underdeveloped field. Thus St. John's book is oddly misdescribed on the jacket as providing "a unique view of how education for the Victorian poor worked out in practice away from the atmosphere of Parliament, the Board of Education and Royal Commissions", when it is a wide-ranging discussion of the content and function of popular education, extending to take account of the empire. There was, of course, no Board of Education until 1899, and St. John dedicated his contribution to a subject which had been before Parliament since the late 1840s to Sir John Pakington, which also brings a commission into the picture. For Pakington, who had introduced in 1855 one of several abortive bills—presaging the Education Act of 1870 by proposing an education rate and local control of schools—introduced in 1858 a motion for an inquiry into popular education which was met by the appointment of the Newcastle Commission.

Grudging though the terms of reference might be—to consider "what measures, if any, are required for the extension of sound and cheap elementary instruction to all classes of the people"—this was something of a victory for those who had long advocated a system of public instruction, as against the view that "the education of the people should consist entirely of religious teaching". This stand had the support of *The Times*, which observed

> with as much vivacity as truth: "What reasonable excuse can be assigned for the distinction, that the mass of the population are brought up exclusively religious, and the better classes almost exclusively profane?"

There was a series of "able, suggestive and polished articles on the subject of education" in this newspaper sufficient to make up a small volume which, in St. John's view, it would be "a public service" to reprint. Perhaps that service may now be performed.



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... unwillingness to concede ...history" to Gammage's ...ly justified. This is a ...t of a book, made up ...poems—mainly from the ...ir and seemingly fortui- ...on copies which the ...retained—personal recol- ...ical accounts of still- active controversies, and some discussion with friends and colleagues. Written while its author was actively engaged in the day-to-day activities of the movement, it represents a highly personal view of the politics of Chartism, particularly of the later years. It is incomplete in its coverage, not least because it was written before any assessment of the lasting influence of Chartism could be made, or the subsequent careers of leading Chartists examined. Nevertheless, and partly because of some of its shortcomings as a history, it is an essential document for the study of the Chartist movement. It retains a considerable interest for all students of nineteenth-century radicalism, and for the general reader who may wish to deepen his knowledge of working-class politics in the period.

The Merlin Press, in particular, has performed a most valuable service in issuing it at a price which will bring it within the reach of any student or interested reader. So far as text and illustrations are concerned, the Merlin Press edition is in every way the equal of the Cass version—indeed the illustrations have come up better in the cheaper edition. It would, however, have added greatly to the value of the edition if a short introduction, perhaps only two or three pages, had been added to place the book and its author within the Chartist movement.

The Cass edition contains, as well as a short pamphlet by Gammage, which is a reprinting of a speech given in 1852, a sixty-page introduction by John Saville. This is a serious essay on aspects of later Chartism, and raises a number of interesting and controversial questions. Perhaps the most valuable part of it is an extensive and detailed discussion of the significance of O'Connor's Land Plan. Dr. Saville takes the discussion out of the confines of the discussion of O'Connor's leadership, or of the tactics of the movement, and looks at it in the context of nineteenth-century attitudes to the land, and of the whole discussion on the role of allotments and small farms in an industrial community. O'Connor maintained that his scheme was not intended to replace industrial production, but to offer to working men an alternative, within a largely industrial system, which would compete as a way of life with the factory system, and prevent the growth of a monopoly. Proponents of economic growth as the summum bonum of human endeavour have tended to ridicule the scheme as being both reactionary and impractical. But, as Dr. Saville convincingly shows, O'Connor was far from alone in seeking to prevent the monopoly of urban employment by factory and workshop, or in seeking a means by which a working man could retain a measure of independence and control of his own environment. Recent work on the history of the Chartist land colonies seems to suggest that they were by no means all failures, and Dr. Saville's extensive examination of the land question in relation to working-class radicalism, and the valuable bibliographical guidance which he offers, may well inspire further research into this important and interesting subject.

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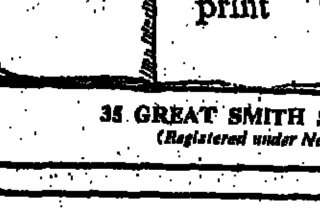
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The seminal jottings of Inigo Jones

Inigo Jones on Palladio

Volume 1: Preface, Notes and Transcription. 74pp.

Volume 2: Facsimile.

Newcastle upon Tyne: Oriel Press. £25 the set.

Inigo Jones's own copy of Palladio's *Quattro Libri* is surely a very special book truly something seminal; for how much of later English architecture grew from Jones's study of Palladio! There is nothing special about the copy he bought (which is now among the rich collection of architectural books and drawings in the library of Worcester College, Oxford), a rather poorly printed exemplum of the edition of 1601—except, that is, that Jones bought it and made it his own in an extensive series of notes written in the margins, partly for his own private use, partly perhaps (to take up a hint from Bruce Allsopp) as an aid in teaching John Webb. As Mr. Allsopp remarks in his introduction, the book "was used almost to destruction"; and this has made for special problems in reproduction. It cannot be said that these problems have all been solved in the method adopted; probably they could not have been all solved together without going to an expense quite beyond reason. But the half-tone reproduction inevitably leads to considerable loss of definition, and though we are assured that "the notes show up rather more clearly than they do in the original", this cannot always be the case, for there is a note, for example, at the foot of page 11 of Book I which has been transcribed complete but in the facsimile is nine-tenths obliterated.

A few of the notes are jottings of general ideas that occur to Jones—sometimes very interesting and revealing ones, as when he observes (III, 32): "That ye Greeke architecture is fytter for ous then Romain is for thier buildings wear for youse and not so profuse." But most are translations of salient points or synopses of the Italian text, which serve as annotations to the engravings. (Occasional annotations which appear on the engravings themselves are, for some reason, omitted from the transcription—e.g., II, 64.)

Sometimes Jones's English is a good deal harder to understand than Palladio's Italian, though one cannot always be sure whether he is attempting to translate or offering a comment of his own. For example, in Book II, on page 60 Jones writes: "Loges about a Circonference do well by reason yͤ Copolo is scene aboufe yͤ frontispice". In the text we read:

Et perche ciascuna faccia ha bellissime viste; vi vanno quattro loggie di ordine Corinthio: sopra i frontespicij delle quali sorge la cupola della Sala. Le loggie, che tendono alla circonferenza fanno un gratissimo aspetto.

Palladio is evidently talking about two different sets of "loggias", those on the house itself and those on the "circumference", which must refer to the encircling quadrant wings; and Jones seems to have telescoped the two.

Occasionally difficulties of interpretation will defeat even the best-intentioned, the transcribers offering no guiding hand. Thus on page 15 of Book II is a note which, we are told, reads: "And most of Palladio his workes ar more Suelta then they ar in designe." "Suelta" (i.e., "svelta"—the transcribers attempt no orthographic modernization) is a very curious usage, seeming in the context to mean something more like our modern "svelte" than the Italian word; but Jones often writes in a language all his own. This is one of a number of instances which strongly suggest that the transcription is going to be extremely hard to make use of without an apparatus of explanatory notes of its own. But we are given nothing: and evidently the transcribers have not made use of the recent work on Jones's notes by Mr. Gordon Topless.

Students of English Renaissance and classical architecture will certainly be glad to have Jones's notes available in full, and to be able to see what in Palladio's book he thought worth emphasizing or commenting on. But, except in so far as the notes need to be precisely located, the value of the facsimile is less obvious. For the copy is no work of art, and its reproduction has evidently been responsible for so much of the cost that a simpler and cheaper expedient might surely have been found. Of course it is useful (though not everywhere, for one cannot always read it) in checking the accuracy of the transcription, which is certainly not faultless. Spot checks here and there have shown quite a few minor errors, some of which—e.g., "Truiso" for "Triuiso" (II, 49) and "Mare" for "Mars" (IV, 18)—seem to be copyist's slips. Not all however: on page 98 of Book IV, we read: "this tempil I saue Munday yͤ 16 June": "saue", which is nonsense, could be read "sawe" or "saw", and one of these must be right. Though Jones's spelling is capricious even by seventeenth-century standards, he did not write "Jamari" (II, 64)—an impossible form—but, as the facsimile clearly shows, "Januari". Errors like these make one worried about things which are more obscure, and to the reader of the facsimile hardly decipherable. At III, 37 the engraving is annotated at several points which cannot all be identified: at one we read: "This waafe makes a quadro in The suffiti of the Portico." Here as elsewhere the transcribers are a little in a muddle over capital and lower-case initials, and "makes" looks more like "make"; the word read as "waafe" is heavily blotted, and the reader of the facsimile can hardly judge. It may be right, for elsewhere Jones has "wafe"; even so, the sentence is hardly lucid, and some explanation is surely due. (It is worth remarking that Jones is easier to understand if read with a Welsh accent.)

On the several fyle... Jones has written ... number of old wa... ailments from which ... thought he did—a do... Mr. Allsopp calls ... medical history". Here ... jollier items—"to ... adust" (the trans... "admift", which is ob... for it neither makes se... ponds to what Jones ha... is not troubled with a loo...

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("Sheepe" seems inca...

A curious piece of ... tion, then, marred by ... and, it seems, by a ... knowledge of sevent... English. And the int... facsimile itself is surely ... ized indeed: at the pri... specialized now reade... market.

Betjeman in the beginning

JOHN BETJEMAN: Ghastly Good Taste

112pp. Anthony Blond. £1.75.

Ghastly Good Taste was first published in 1933 and has been out of print for so long that the book has become almost as legendary as is Sir John Betjeman himself. It has now been reprinted as first written, with seven new footnotes (one most important); and five more feet of pull-out drawings, being Mr. Peter Fleetwood Hesketh's further wicked and well-observed comments on the continuing decline of English architecture since 1933.

The new introduction ("An Aesthete's Apologia") tells how Sir John's interest in architecture (or what would probably now be called "The Environment") began when he was a child, seeking "for what was old", and was expanded by exploring London and Cornish churches in the holidays, bicycling trips to Oxford villages from prep school, and sketching expeditions to Georgian houses from Marlborough (opposed by the anti-art faction led by Anthony Blunt and Ellis Waterhouse). The good work was carried on at Oxford with the help of new friends of similar tastes and of expensive books put down to his father's account. Of the academic consequences, *Summoned by Bells* has already told. There is a slightly apologetic note on "leaving Oxford without a degree, as many of us did in those days".

In a brief left-wing phase, Sir John waited on Didcot station during the General Strike as a runner for the National Union of Railwaymen; but no messages came. His Anglo-Catholic phase was lasting: part of the argument of his book is that the rise and fall of English architecture can be related to that of the Christian faith and the substitution of commercial for Christian ethics. After Oxford, a period of prep-school teaching under a headmaster who was "Eton and Cambridge and a paid-up member of the Communist Party" was followed by a more productive spell at the *Architectural Review*. This provided a chance to meet and talk to leading architects, Lutyens, Comper, Voysey, Davis (of Mewes and Davis) and to make friends with Professor Albert Richardson who remains Sir John's idol. Ireland with its decaying peers and country houses was already an escape from bloody old England. A visit to German baroque palaces and a Moravian settlement at Neuwied is described as "rewarding", but in general That Awful Abroad never seems to have had much appeal for Sir John.

Ghastly Good Taste praised eighteenth and early nineteenth-century buildings. In 1933 this was something quite new and daring, for the Royal Commission on Historic Monuments had pronounced that history, so far as architecture was concerned, ended in 1714. Georgian buildings had little protection; the Luftwaffe hadn't begun knocking down Bloomsbury; there was no Georgian Group. Regency was Bad Taste; Nash's Regent Street had gone; the Carlton House and Regent's Park terraces were threatened. Victorian was not worth looking at, Edwardian and neo-Georgian were "contemporary". "Modern architecture" was something practised by the Swedes, Dutch and Germans. In those days the dragons were "art critics" (the art historians came later), beknighted and fashionable architects, "top-hole lads who had been to the A.A.", and depressed draughtsmen who, deprived of Oxbridge, had to console themselves with "high jinks in Finchley". And of course the ribbon developers who were rampaging over Metroland.

Clever people whose reaction to praise of any post-1837 building is to say "*Deah* John Betjeman" with a knowing air (which must make him wince) may get a jolt when they find that his early interest in Victorian architecture was lukewarm and perversely inspired by his Marlborough art master's low opinion of Landseer. Street's Law Courts were "a colossal failure"; King's Cross was preferred to St. Pancras; Marylebone Station was in poor taste. Apart from the Art Nouveau movement of 1900, "building ceased to be of anything but commercial importance after 1860", and "a morbid genealogical tree" supports Mr. Fleetwood Hesketh's first 4½ feet of drawing to prove it. As for Norman Shaw, "the less said of that gentleman's work the better". Before the Secretary of State condemns Scotland Yard and the planning authority uproots the last tree from Bedford Park, both should read a new footnote on page 104 about Shaw "who I now realize was our greatest architect since Wren, if not greater".

When the book was written, its author was only twenty-six; a less honest man might have re-written some of its nine chapters. If the preacher's voice now sounds somewhat muted, that is because most readers will long ago have been converted to his views, which in 1933 were held by very few. The book's aim was to open the eyes of "the blind man in the street" to what was happening round him because it might affect his way of life, and to encourage ... the same interest in ... he might do in art, ... ture. That was a serious ... architecture (says the ... be extremely funny". ... have taken some of the ... of it since then by ... analysing; but it is ... Sir John Betjeman the ... ations since 1933 have ... looking at buildings a... of architecture can ... fun.

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Praeger.

For some time the number of books published dealing with furniture history has been increasing and much has been done to clarify previously ill-understood aspects of the subject. However, scholarly study of the furniture and interior decoration of the past has been hampered by the difficulty of gaining access to complete copies of such vital sources as the furniture pattern-books of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These pattern-books were mainly used by cabinet-makers in their workshops, so few complete copies survive in libraries, especially compared with the number of works of similar importance on literary or historical subjects that can be found in a wide range of academic libraries.

The only way these pattern-books can be made readily available to scholars is by reprinting them. A few reprints of eighteenth-century pattern-books are already available and have already proved of great value, and four more have now appeared in their complete form and in their original format. They are cheaper than some similar reprints, but will still be too expensive for most independent scholars. They should, however, be within the reach of any museum, university or public library.

It is gratifying to find that the fold-out plates of the original Sheraton volumes have been reproduced here; no doubt the price would have been lower without them, but the publishers were right to retain them.

These volumes are in a series entitled "Praeger Reprints on Arts, Crafts, and Trades", which will presumably cover the whole range of the decorative arts. The general editor of the series is Professor C. F. Montgomery, who is best known to furniture historians for his impressive and scholarly catalogue of the Federal furniture at the H. F. du Pont Winterthur Museum. Three of them are furniture pattern-books, while the Moxon is a handbook dealing with turnery, joinery, bricklaying and similar crafts. Each of them has an editor's preface and an introduction. In the case of the two Sheraton books, an identical general preface has been written by Professor Montgomery himself, together with Mr. W. P. Cole. These two scholars have also written the introduction to *The Cabinet Dictionary*. The introduction to the *Drawing Book* is by Dr. L. O. J. Boynton, and is followed by a bibliographical note by Professor Montgomery. The preface of the Moxon is by Professor Montgomery and the introduction by Mr. B. M. Forman. The preface to the Smith is by Professor Montgomery and Mr. Forman, while the introduction is by Miss C. V. Hershey.

If a work is worth reprinting at all it will be an even greater contribution to scholarship if it has an introduction which helps us to place it properly in its historical context and to calculate its importance. In these four reprints, however, only Mr. Forman's introduction to the Moxon attempts to discuss the book in the detail that it deserves, and even this falls short of the ideal.

The introduction to the *Drawing Book* is clear and the points that Dr. Boynton makes are sensible, but it is so short that it is of very limited use to those interested in Sheraton and his contribution to furniture design. The introduction to the *Dictionary* is the shortest of all and contains very little information of originality or importance.

The introduction to the Smith is long but of very little consequence. Miss Hershey seems to have a singularly muddled view of European furniture-design during the first decades of the nineteenth century. She starts with a pointless discussion of how long the Regency style lasted. She then makes some curious statements about Thomas Hope. He was not, as she states, trained when young as an architect and did not live in a house called Portland Place. She claims that "needless to say the popularity of bulky furniture throughout the nineteenth century had its origin in Hope's work"; this is so manifestly untrue that it is unnecessary to discuss it further. She refers to "the measured earnestness of Augustus Charles Pugin's reverential and reforming Gothic of the 1830's"; A. C. Pugin died in 1832, having designed nothing in the reformed Gothic style—it is easy to confuse him with his son A. W. N. Pugin, but someone writing an introduction of this kind ought not to do so.

These four books fill a definite gap and will be of great use to students of furniture history. It is a pity that the introductions, which could have added so greatly to the usefulness of the books, are much too brief, and it would have been useful if a full bibliographical analysis could also have been included in each case. It is to be hoped that later volumes will maintain the high standard of reproduction and will have longer and more scholarly introductions. It is also to be hoped that Praeger will reprint some of the more important nineteenth century pattern-books and trade manuals in due course.

Too patriotic pioneer

W. H. GRATTAN FLOOD: A History of Irish Music

357pp. Shannon: Irish University Press. £6.30.

The mystery of Irish music begins, perhaps, with Giraldus Cambrensis, who in the twelfth century produces the first tangible leprechaun to tease the inquiring scholar when he declares that he finds "among these people commendable diligence only on musical instruments, on which they are incomparably more skilled than any nation I have seen". The leprechauns have teased us ever since, dangling elusive scraps of "evidence" which have been eagerly seized upon by those intent on proving preconceived theories about the history of Irish music. Their wicked humour has been well rewarded with the chaotic array of statements, often totally unreliable, and usually untraceable to their sources, which face the historians of today.

The most tragic victim of this gremlin plot was Grattan Flood, an earnest, well-intentioned and enthusiastic organist of Enniscorthy, who was the first to undertake the tremendous task of compiling a comprehensive history of Irish music, beginning about the third century A.D.—a point in time some fourteen centuries before the earliest authentic example of notated Irish music known in his day. (Two isolated examples of Irish art-music of tantalizing significance have been more recently discovered, dating from about the twelfth and fifteenth centuries.)

Working at the turn of the century (the first edition of his *History* was published in 1905, this reprint is a facsimile of the third edition of 1913), Flood laboured under certain disadvantages. In most aspects of his subject, with the exception of that covered by the collectors of folk music in the nineteenth century, he entered into virtually unexplored territory with the enthusiasm and lack of scholarly training akin to the amateur archaeologists of his day. Making the laborious train journey of about seventy miles, he would travel to Dublin whenever the duties of a poorly-paid provincial organist allowed. Working in the libraries without the aid of photo-copying and modern cataloguing systems, he collected masses of virgin material written out in long-hand which he would carry back to Co. Wexford to correlate. It is perhaps no wonder that he fails to quote many of his sources, and often fails to notice material which contradicts his conclusions. (The tragedy for those working on his subject today is that many of his presumed sources have since been destroyed.)

The second great shortcoming of Flood's work arises from a patriotic zeal egged on to excess by the patronizing and often deprecatory attitude towards anything Irish, which was typical of his day. His quite desperate anxiety to prove the worth of Ireland's contribution to European music completely blinds his judgment when claiming as Irish both Henry Purcell and John Dowland (among countless others) in the face of such obvious contradictions provided by heraldry in the first case, and an extremely awkward date in the records of Trinity College in the second. These are of course minor claims, though they are among many which have caused considerable misunderstanding by being quoted without source in standard reference books. Less dangerous, because in the light of modern knowledge of implication it could almost be said to provide the humorous relief in reading this history, is the suggestion—if one rightly understands his argument—that the whole corpus of European music is basically Irish anyway through the inseminating influence of the medieval Irish missionary monks.

One is assailed by a feeling of guilt at being somewhat scornful of the tremendous amount of earnest pioneer work which Flood undertook in writing his *History*. The unfortunate fact remains that this is highly dangerous literature which can easily corrupt anyone who is not trained to treat every statement of fact with extreme caution. Dr. Bodley, in his introduction, rightly takes this attitude, and is at pains to warn the reader that "the value of this work lies mainly in its importance as a possible starting-point for further research".

That Grattan Flood's book should have been reprinted in facsimile (even allowing for Dr. Bodley's admonitory introduction) at a time when the first serious research into the subject is just being undertaken by a number of scholars seems either irresponsible, or to show a regrettable lack of awareness of this work on the part of the publishers.

To give but one example of the many incorrect facts stated in books of reference which are traceable to Grattan Flood, there is the statement in the standard musical dictionaries of England, France, Germany and America that the *first* production of Italian opera in Dublin was staged by Nicoolini in 1711. Nicoolini was indeed in Dublin in that year, though Flood did not notice that with his London commitments he had little more time than to give a benefit concert, which included a number of operatic arias, in the Bluecoat School Hall. It was not in fact until April, 1777, that the first complete Italian opera was presented in Dublin.

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Philanthropy oop't mill

R. BALGARNIE:
Sir Titus Salt, Baronet—His Life and its Lessons
319pp. Settle: Brenton. £1.50.

Sir Titus Salt, Baronet—His Life and its Lessons was written by the Reverend R. Balgarnie, Minister of the South Cliff Church, Scarborough—a church incidentally built and endowed by Salt—and published by Hodder and Stoughton in 1877. It has long been out of print and now David Ogden, the Shipley librarian, has had it republished virtually in its original format. This was a worthwhile enterprise, for the name of Sir Titus Salt, though appearing in the *DNB*, is far from familiar beyond his native Bradford; it is now almost 100 years since he died and his life is worthy of recall. Today his main claim to fame must be his pioneering construction of the model village of Saltaire which still stands.

In the latest volume of the *Municipal Year Book* Saltaire is described as lying within the boundaries of the urban district of Shipley:

It comprises a self-contained community of 850 houses built by Sir Titus Salt for the work people employed at his mill which is still one of the largest in the world. It included churches, a hospital, a technical and art school and a public hall all built in the grand manner and in a distinctive architectural style.

The architects were in fact Lockwood and Mawson, who were responsible for many contemporary public buildings in Bradford. Most of the buildings in Saltaire fronting the village's main thoroughfare (Victoria Road, naturally) have been listed by the Ministry of the Environment as being of special architectural or historical interest. The south front of the mill is exactly the length of St. Paul's and the total floor area, according to Salt's biographer, is 500,000 square feet. An additional chimney has been built in the form of a tower with a campanile. Sir Titus has indeed his monument.

He made his money out of alpaca, of which he bought a large consignment in 1836 at the age of thirty-three, having been in business with his father in Bradford as a woolstapler in quite a small way since the age of nineteen. He seems to have behaved with coolness and courage when the Bradford woolcombers came out on strike in 1825 and sought to destroy the newly-introduced weaving machinery. He had a good business reputation locally, but it is disappointing to read that his first public concern was to seek to do away with the Septennial Festival of Bishop Blaize, the patron saint of the woolcombers, which seems to have been celebrated with much jollification and presumably alcohol. Balgarnie was not very informative about his hero's early business life, but Salt clearly knew the wool business, and would seem to have laid the foundation of a substantial fortune in the ten years following the alpaca deals by establishing a number of mills in Bradford which produced this revolutionary new material.

Being a Nonconformist, Salt was bound to be a strong Liberal; he accordingly welcomed the 1832 Reform Bill which gave Bradford two members, and he may well have been instrumental in their selection. His biographer lists his political opinions, remarkably in advance of his times in some respects, for he supported inter alia the ballot, free education, the abolition of flogging and capital punishment, and the repeal of the Corn Laws, not to mention the removal of bishops from Parliament. It was not in fact until 1845 that Bradford got its charter of incorporation, but before that he had held the office of head constable, a position of strictly limited authority since the town still lacked drainage, lighting, paving, water, and police. In 1848, however, he was elected to Bradford's first bench of magistrates, and in November that year he became the second mayor in its history.

Salt was now a very rich man indeed, with a fine Georgian mansion, and when he built Saltaire in 1851 he started with the mill, at a cost of £100,000: the workmen's houses cost nearly as much, and the congregational church that followed some £16,000. The baths, public wash-houses, school... amenities that he provi... survived: these did n... include a public house...

Salt was elected to P... 1859 at the age of fifty... as now that was too la... make a career at West... not recorded as having... he voted correctly, as... been a respected back... not his health let him do... up in 1861, his successor... Forster, one of the m... guished men ever to sit... The remainder of Sal... given up to philanthrop... not exclusively in favour... formist charities. He d... ever, turn down Gladst... a baronetcy in 1869, w... remained a pillar of Lib... was a modest man, and... attend the unveiling b... potentate than the Duk... shire of a large statue o... front of Bradford, To... 1874. When he died tw... the faithful Bradfordian... what amounted to a st... and the whole of Saltair... was buried, went into m... funeral service was ca... was only fitting, by a c... is quaintly described as... Archbishop of Congreg... Yorkshire.

Balgarnie's biograph... lished within twelve m... Titus's death, which is p... any standard. In his ow... mentioned that the lac... for his subject's early... made his task more dif... expected, but a modern... wish that he had made... use of the all too copio... articles, sermons, and... public speeches in o... which must have been... available to him and... make tedious reading fo... hand, Mr. Ogden's own... would not suffer by... more informative th... Saltaire today.

Turnpike tourist

The Torrington Diaries
Edited by C. Bruyn Andrews.
Volume 1: 382pp. Volume 2: 420pp. Volume 3: 325pp. Volume 4: 274pp.
Methuen. £24 the set.

The so-called Torrington Diaries have many charms, but their greatest is the utter unpretentiousness of their author. John Byng, a nephew of the unfortunate admiral of that name, enjoyed the family title of Viscount Torrington for only the last few weeks of his life. He had spent the earlier part of it in the army, and his beautiful wife, although she bore him twelve children, loved someone else. Byng hated London and its social life, so he turned, as others were turning, to the touring life that was opened up by the new network of turnpike roads. Over them, during the twelve years following 1782, he jogged from inn to inn recording what he saw, what he ate and drank, what he paid, the conversations he had, and, above all, what he felt about it.

The journals were most lovingly compiled. Byng enriched them with sketches, prints bought on the spot (the equivalent of the modern picture postcard), epitaphs copied from monuments, maps, and his overnight bills, many of which have considerable typographical charm. Nevertheless he makes it clear that although there are no intimacies in the diary, publication was never intended. One can see why. The diary may not be intimate, but it is intensely personal, in that Byng feels no contemporary social obligation in what he writes. His object, in which he succeeds, is to capture the living moment, not for himself but for his descendants, and to convey to them the feeling of an England which he knew was soon to vanish.

Two quotations show clearly the philosophy of the diarist. Riding out of London, on the first stage of one of his tours, he finds himself reflecting miserably on his vanished youth and the absence of any particular hope for the future. Then: "I will rouse myself, and suffer neither the thoughts of the past, or future to perplex; but study how to render agreeable the present." Then, with him sitting in the Boot Inn at Caernarvon, listening to the local harper, we see him carrying out his prescription. "I pity my grandchildren", he writes, "who will only hear its merits and fame in their grandfather's and others' pages; wishing in vain for that retrospective delight, which I am now enjoying."

In this survey of England and Wales on the verge of the Industrial Revolution, the instincts of the conservationist were already strongly marked. Byng detested both the modernization of monuments and their neglect. He hated Scotch fir plantations, and reacted characteristically to everything that we associate with the word "spoiled". Conditions he saw in South Wales or Yorkshire representing the old way of life affected him with the same dilemma as strikes the further-ranging Western tourist of today in Sicily or Timbuctoo—pleasure in things as they are, and appreciation that improved material conditions would yet be in the best interests of the people concerned. Stranded in a cottage in Gloucestershire, he reflects on the hard life of his peasant hostess with her five children and miserable home: "Think, after this, of the rascally carpenters of London, who strike work, being dissatisfied with their wages of £1 1s. per week."

Even now that one no longer finds "delicious country" between Eltham and Foots Cray, and cannot say that scarcely any ride can be "more beautiful, more varied, or fuller of objects" than one from Margam to Neath, there is still enough of Byng's England left to set up an echo of what he felt about it; and with it a much stronger sense of the doom he felt coming on when he glimpsed the copper works among the trees. His intention to leave his work for 100 years—it was actually 150—before it could be appreciated was well reckoned. The format of 1934, which in its turn is preserved by photo-lithography, transmits a spaciousness which is not commonly found in modern books.

This is a book in which there is no pressure, no strain, no desire to get on, no particular order of thought, a total absence of "musts". But there is observation, an appealing personality, and there are nearly 400 inns. Out of the twelve years over which his tours were spread, Byng must have spent something like two years' worth of nights in inns, good, bad, and indifferent. He clearly enjoyed almost every moment, even when the food was wretched, his stomach upset, his night sleepless, and the bill excessive. A good one made him a happy man, and one can see his style expanding under the rushlight which next morning is going to be faithfully added to his bill. For in those days, as the bills make clear, innkeepers charged only for what was actually consumed by their guests. It would be interesting to know when the commercialism that Byng so much deplored suggested to the catering industry that a charge could be made for bed as well as breakfast.

UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW

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One-book Anstey

CHRISTOPHER ANSTEY:
The New Bath Guide,
56pp. Bath: Adams and Dart. £1.05.

The persiflage, understanding of human nature and graceful learning, lightly worn, which distinguish such works as *The New Bath Guide* have make a sparkling and constant tributary to English writing. The day may come—and it will be a dull one—when such books become the diet of thesis-writers and pass beyond the intellectual subtlety of the general reader. There is a slightly old-fashioned ring about some of the jokes which is somehow suggestive of the cutlery and napery at a high-table. The poem describes the fashions and follies of mid-eighteenth-century life; George Saintsbury, warmly praising it, said that it was "fun which need not be too broad for any but a very narrow mind". The present volume is a reproduction of the first edition (1766), neatly produced, and with a sound introduction by Kenneth G. Ponting.

The author was Christopher Anstey, a fellow of King's College, and described in this edition as a "gentleman scholar". The prefix seems hardly necessary, though it is possibly used to distinguish the author from the more businesslike gentry who came into King's with Maynard Keynes and the march of the left. Gentleman or not, he had something in common with a modern don in that he dearly loved a fight, for which he is believed to have been prevented from taking his M.A. When the poem was first published it was loudly applauded by Horace Walpole—"I can say it by heart". He particularly enjoyed the description of the m... which is depicted with... temporary fondness for...

Painted lawns and chequer'd...
Crape that's worn b...

Water'd tabbies, flower'd b...

Walpole also drew atten... skit on the Moravian b... sings of the child who di...

Little Bee on Jesu's breast...

He was likewise delight... poem describing the y... election to Methodism. We need hardly expl... vision, real rather th... concerned one Roger, ... heavy on her breast, ... added a learned foo... effect that in the Bisho... book, *The Enthusiasm... ism and Papists Compa...* many young people ... respective faiths by the... (Anstey was referrin... Lavington, who died in...

Mr. Ponting is perha... to Anstey's subsequen... writer. When his late... published, Horace Walp... ration vanished, and ... after the publication o... *Guide* he was to write... a duller goose than Ans... added that any true frie... would have knocked... head when his first bo... lished so that the bould... with Gulliver's Struldbr... the immortals. Perhaps ... rank Anstey with "Si... Hamilton; both achi... with one triumph; ... between them is tha... book Anstey left us ... his delightful It...

Rambling, writing and reprinting

Murray's Handbook for Travellers in Switzerland 1838
367pp. Leicester University Press. £2.50.

JOHN CARR:
The Stranger in Ireland
530pp. Shannon: Irish University Press. £12.60.

Wordsworth's Guide to the Lakes
212pp. Oxford University Press. £2.

WILLIAM YATE:
An Account of New Zealand
310pp. Shannon: Irish University Press. £5.25.

JOSEPH BARETTI:
A Journey from London to Genoa, through England, Portugal, Spain and France
Two volumes in one. Volume I: 424pp. Volume II: 419pp.
Arundel: Centaur Press. £25.

M. MARTIN:
A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland
392pp. £5.25.

A Voyage to St. Kilda
79pp. £1.80.
Edinburgh: Mercat Press.

JAMES B. JOHNSTON:
Place-Names of Scotland
335pp. Wakefield: S.R. Publishers. £3.50.

...k Simmons reminds us in ... introduction to the reprint ...tion, in the Victorian Lib... one of the nineteenth cen... ...st successful travel guides, *Handbook for Travellers in ...nd*, the guide book is a pro... romanticism. The reading of ...ks, old and new, no doubt ... the romantic in all of us, ...dvertising agent who said ...g there was half the fun ...ed the real point of travel. ... across the globe for pleas... ...at require the commercial ..., or affluence, or even ...chnological breakthroughs ... much as it required a new ...ew in which one might, ... guilt, enjoy today's pleas... ...out fearing tomorrow's re... The urge to travel, the ... that must accompany the ...d the desire to plan in ... what one will see required ...ation of the Renaissance's ... now knowledge, the Refor... emphasis upon individual ...d the scientific revolution's ...for order. There were car... ...llers, of course, but even ...ight have been glad of a ... would warn against either Charybdis.

...ading of old guide books, ... study of old road maps, ... entrée not only into the ...on the map but also the ...of the mind. Guide books ...m of social history. They ...what one generation, one ...and one class think beauti... ...pressive, or ugly; they tell ... one might reasonably be ...to spend money and time ...ey tell us, as in the mirror, ... countrymen of the author ... within themselves. To ... Interlaken as a "Swiss ... tells more of John ...and perhaps of Margate. ... possibly tell about Inter... ...Guide books are prime ... in the exploration of ... character. Changing taste, ...economies, religious thought, ...nications systems, architec... ...nd art—all may be documented ...the old guide.

...reprinting of old guide ...then, is a distinct service to ... in many disciplines, as well ... libraries that must serve ..., there are good and bad ...s there are "hard" and ...ources, and any collection ...to contain a bit of both. ...ge, is well run in eight ...reprinted books which, with ...ow that in the nineteenth ... every mountain now hath ...ngue" within an appointed ... also that "descriptions of ... cannot rank as litera... Ernest de Sélincourt re... the introduction to his ... 1906, of Wordsworth's *Guide to the Lakes*. They cannot, that is, unless emotion springs "inevitably from the scene" described rather than being "brought into it from without".

In almost every sense, then, John Murray's guides were particularly successful and remain especially valuable. The *Handbook for Travellers in Switzerland* is crotchety, opinionated, gracefully written, emotive, quantitative, thorough, and readable even today. It heralded one of the most successful series of travellers' handbooks ever published, strengthened the house of Murray, confirmed generations of British in their prejudices, brought generations more to Switzerland for the first time, and became the model for the lapidary book, as distinct from the census-taking techniques of Karl Baedeker. The 1838 guide is striking in a number of ways. Byron's every footfall is traced with admiration, so that one today is charged with a visit to Wengenalp because he took a meal there, even though the poet had died but fourteen years earlier. There is no word about skiing, introduced to the area by an Englishman in 1881, and nothing about mountaineering. There is a most unfavourable judgment on the "moral condition of the Swiss" which could only pre-date their financially successful neutrality in two world wars. There are a series of judgments on towns now thought quaint, beautiful, or both, which are wildly at odds with present circumstances (Gruyères was a "dirty little mouldering town" while today's Michelin finds the village "full of grace and harmony"). There are as yet no railways and there are many watering places, there is an attack on Morat which reads as Temple Fielding might have done, and there is a fine description of the Juanpass which is still appropriate. In short, here is one guide book which, although more than a century old, may still be used with benefit today.

Not the least among the reasons for this is the admirable introductory essay by Professor Simmons, which is a gem of scholarship, weaving together the many social and economic themes which arise from the book. It is to be contrasted with the introduction by Dr. Louis M. Cullen to John Carr's *The Stranger in Ireland*, which tells remarkably little about the book, Carr, travel, or Ireland. Stranger yet is the fact that Dr. Cullen finds the book of so little value that one cannot imagine why it has been reprinted. He suggests that the success of Carr's earlier work of 1793, *Tour through the south of England . . .* . could be accredited to "the existence of a market for travel books", which is surely as circular an explanation as the tour itself; and he concludes that Carr's generalizations were fleeting, his quotations overused and overdrawn, the style digressive, and his knowledge of the countryside "hopelessly superficial". Why, then, reprint? Certainly a poorly proof-read five-page introduction does not tell us. Still, the information Carr's book contains is "useful" in the sense that all knowledge is, by faith, useful, and there is a good bit about Killarney that is entertaining.

Carr is a poor example of a genre of which Wordsworth's guide is often taken to be the exemplar. Read today, in fact, this classic guide affords more pleasure, insights, and information about Wordsworth, Romanticism, and the connexion between the poet and nature, than it does about the Lake District. Wordsworth carefully avoids overpraise but none the less tells us exactly what we are to feel at each given moment—not each place, alone, but during each experience at such a place. Guide books of this nature are profoundly anti-democratic, for whatever one may say of a Blue Guide or Michelin, they leave to the reader the right to arrive at his own judgments. Wordsworth invests the walls of guilt: if one does not feel an overwhelming emotion at the passage of the shadow of a goose over a lake, one clearly is wanting in feeling. Must we all stop in awe before a massive room of Rubens when visiting the Alte Pinakothek? The line between a conservative, warm localism and an eroding provincialism is a thin one, and while Wordsworth does not cross it, it presses his less sensitive readers toward it. He felt disgust in the face of bad drawings as he felt disgust in the presence of bad poetry, but the arbiters of the bad, at least among those who now write what we commonly recognize as travel books, are rather less insistent today. Perhaps it is because of the force of Wordsworth's own prose that de Sélincourt's introduction seems mild, overly given to bibliography, and less perceptive than we deserve now. Still, here is a book to take to the Lake District and, at the very least, as a talisman in one's pocket while visiting Rydal Mount.

A third type of descriptive travel literature is represented by William Yate's *An Account of New Zealand*. Yate was a Shropshire lad who sailed for the Antipodes with the Church Missionary Society in 1827, arrived in 1828, and lived primarily in Keriken and Waimate, around the North Island's Bay of Islands. He did not journey far, although he did know the Thames well, and he observed physical features with some care, both on the landscape and in persons. He provides material on the papahurihia on which New Zealand's *Pakeha* historians have drawn, and since one may trace an erratic line from this early movement through the Hauhaus and the Ringatus to the present, his work is not without modern meaning. But Yate's primary journey was into sin, perhaps for himself—he was dismissed under a cloud of mysterious charges which, in an able introduction, Judith Binney identifies ("Yate was emotionally inclined to homosexuality, [but probably] he was innocent of the physical act"), which one knows Selwyn would not have forgiven, especially upon looking down upon his figure in Lichfield Cathedral. Yate's book also is a journey into sin for the Maori, whom Yate felt were free of the "burden of iniquity", a cultural lack he intended to fill. In his "Virgin Birth" Edmund Leach has taken issue with those anthropologists who imagined that "primitive" societies were ignorant of the relationship between copulation and pregnancy, but Yate provides fine fodder for those who would see the Maori in such Alpha and Omega terms. His book is interesting, then, as history, as crude anthropology, and as a moral journey for himself and his constituents, but the pilgrim's progress is scarcely good literature or good travel.

Both are to be found in Joseph Baretti's account of his journey to Genoa, as published first in 1770 and now reprinted in a single volume in James Morris's "Travellers' Classics" series. One might question the wisdom of a man who made two trips to Spain and failed to visit the Escorial, but this offence is remedied in Toledo, where he goes to the Alcazar and not the archbishop's palace. His description of Lisbon not long after the great earthquake, the incidental information—charmingly presented—about the hazards of the road, and the general joy Baretti shows in what he sees make this a most valuable reprint. Ian Robertson, with a bit of help from Donald C. Gallup's still unpublished dissertation on Baretti, provides a satisfying introduction, and the quality of the reproduction is a dividend of pleasure.

Two other excellent facsimile reprints are the works of Martin Martin, now reissued by James Thin. While largely of Scottish interest, *A Description of the Western Islands* and *A Voyage to St. Kilda* will intrigue wider-ranging scholars and travellers as well. The latter, perfect even in its imperfection of misprinted pagination, is full of nature's curiosities and shrewd observation; the former is closer to a genuine handbook, a compendium of useful and useless information set out in staccato fashion with a charming air of total disorganization which makes it an ideal bedtime and maddening travel companion. Both are full of strange names and spellings, set against the modern map of Scotland, and are best read with James B. Johnston's admirable compilation of Scottish place-names. Johnston first published his work in 1892; here we have a reprint of the 1934 edition, which includes a scholarly, and often quite witty, introduction, a number of wise rules and cautions, and the judgment that English names "are mere child's play".

One wonders whether a hundred years hence, as this generation's guide books are reprinted in whatever form encapsulation of knowledge then takes, there will be as many pleasant travel companions. As Dr. Johnson observed, commenting on Baretti, "Those whose lot it is to ramble can seldom write, and those who know how to write very seldom ramble." We are fortunate that there have been so many exceptions.

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Browning as man and as poet

Two more books in the spate of works on Browning deserve attention: William S. Peterson's account of the Browning Society, its branches and members, and Philip Drew's comprehensive critical introduction to Browning's poetry. For all its lively material, *Interrogating the Oracle* hardly succeeds in explaining the curious phenomenon of Browning-worship. Mr. Peterson suggests that the cult may have been a legacy of the romantic view that the poet possesses vatic authority and that his personal life is the proper concern of his public, but he does not argue the case. The members of the London Browning Society and other Browning clubs, American and English, were oddly assorted, consisting of scholars, literary ladies, earnest seekers after truth and publicists of all kinds. Emily Hickey, Furnival, and Thomas Wise, an improbable company, are here described in their connexion with the society.

The account increases our sense of the peculiarity of the whole episode without adding much to our understanding of why Browning achieved prophetic status with his admirers. Unravelling the poet's obscurities, expounding his meaning and promoting his philosophy were rather the result of Furnival's obsession with literary public relations than of any impulse on Browning's own part. He accepted the homage good-humouredly, a touch complacently, but often with embarrassment. The members of the society evidently had their individual reasons for furthering the cult, and Browning was more the occasion than the cause of their association. It was easy, for example, to use the meetings as a platform. We are given a mischievous glimpse of Shaw attacking Christianity in answer to a paper given by a Miss Stoddard in May, 1888, which suggests the real motives behind his membership. But, as Mr. Peterson observes, Shaw's merriment at the expense of the Browning Society, which he joined at Furnival's instigation and for his own ends, scarcely having read a line of the poetry, could be turned back on his own head when Shavian societies began to spring up in twentieth-century England and America. The search for a literary prophet as an excuse for a good evening's argument at least did not die out as a cultural phenomenon with the nineteenth century.

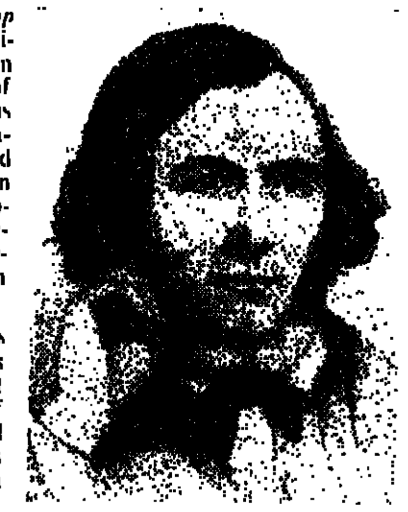
Philip Drew's extensive critical introduction to Browning's work brings us back from the man to the poet. It is admirably wide-ranging as regards both the technique and the meaning of the poems. Mr. Drew's main thesis, that Browning was in conscious revolt against romantic subjectivity and devised the dramatic monologue as a means of counteracting it, is expounded at length in the chapter on Browning and the rejection of Romantic tradition. But there is a weakness in the argument. Mr. Drew oversimplifies romanticism in spite of the various categories he distinguishes. He makes no distinction, for instance, between the reflective mode of Wordsworth and the "sensational" poetry of Keats and Shelley. The word is Hallam's, used in his now celebrated review of Tennyson's early poems in the *Englishmen's Magazine*. Hallam's essay indicates how, at Browning's youthful and impressionable period, a new generation of poets and critics were already discovering in the younger Romantics that ability to "think through images" which offered the possibility of objectifying singular and intense personal responses. Browning's own feeling for the uniquely individualized in image or in personality can properly be associated with this tradition in nineteenth-century verse. Though he did not work in the predominantly visual mode of Tennyson and so many of his contemporaries, he possessed the precise and peculiar concentration of meaning and impression which is characteristic of one aspect of the Romantic vision.

This very quality in Browning's poetry is substantiated by Mr. Drew's keen analysis of individual poems. He is particularly good on the suspended judgment and its ambiguous effects in contrast to the particularity of delineation in *Bishop Blougram's Apology*; he is illuminating, too, on Browning's diction in general and on his treatment of contemporary life. The Victorians domesticated the Romantic inspiration, brought it nearer home, and Browning's acute-angled perception of detail and of feeling, his kaleidoscopic display of the many refractions of an ideal truth, is not a rejection of Romantic tradition so much as an original development of it.

The most interesting of Mr. Drew's conclusions do not arise from his over-argumentative premises, but from his persuasive examination of the poetry itself. As a theoretical critic, he has too many targets, offers too many challenges, and allows a note of intellectual irascibility to creep in as he sets out to demolish positions other than his own. But *The Poetry of Browning* is adventurous in its range and valuable in its detail. In grasp and intelligence it supersedes many of the more limited studies that have recently been published on the poet.

The study of any poet's work depends upon a reliable text. Browning's own corrected 1888-89 edition and the later collected edition of Sir Frederick Kenyon are so far authoritative. But, while we wait for the gradual emergence of the Ohio University Press complete edition, the new "Oxford Standard Authors" volume of the poetry to 1864, edited by Ian Jack, provides an indispensable supplement to them. Mr. Jack has exercised his editorial discretion skilfully. The decision to keep the original arrangement of the poems, but print the final corrected text, emended only in some instances (which are noted in the introduction) from earlier printings, is entirely justified for its critical value. The running-head notes added to *Sordello* in 1863 and 1868 are salvaged and reprinted; they are of such help in elucidating this notoriously difficult work that it is hard to see why Browning did not want them reprinted. This edition also contains the prefaces and dedications, and presents the poems up to *The Ring and The Book* in chronological order and a lucid unencumbered format. There is one error in the index—"In Three Days" is noted as appearing on page 691 when in fact it is printed on page 681.

Browning the poet, in spite of Betty Miller's view of his deliberate concealment and withdrawal, and Mr. Drew's view of his revolt against romantic subjectivity, returns us to Browning the man. It is one of the paradoxes of his genius. More than this, however, accounts for the permanent appeal of the love letters which passed between him and Elizabeth Barrett, before their marriage. Now published at formidable expense by the Belknap Press of Harvard in a handsome and scholarly edition, blessedly free from the too-common fault of over-annotation, these preserve the record of a unique relationship. The courtship not only moulded Browning's genius but in its own right has all the fascination of a spontaneous display of the complex and developing communion between two extraordinary people. Critics have noticed the resemblance between this correspondence and the epistolary novel, as Elvan Kintner himself compares the conclusion of the interchange to "structured fiction". But these unfictitious letters are rather a form of unconscious autobiography, a running commentary on a common experience revealing all its uncommon subtleties. Indeed they indicate why the epistolary mode is especially successful in conveying intricate emotions. In a



Browning as a young man

WILLIAM S. PETERSON:
Interrogating the Oracle
276pp. Athens: Ohio University Press. $10.

PHILIP DREW:
The Poetry of Browning
471pp. Methuen. £4.50.

Browning: Poetical Works, 1833-1864
Edited by Ian Jack.
952pp. Oxford University Press. £2.10.

The Letters of Robert Browning and Elizabeth Barrett Barrett, 1845-1846
Edited by Elvan Kintner.
Volume I: January 1845-March 1846. Volume II: March 1846-September 1846. 1119pp. Harvard University Press. London: Oxford University Press. £14.25 the set.

literate and literary society it is the natural expression of those external intrusions and internal complications which make up the texture of our private apprehension of experience.

The correspondents themselves were naturally aware of the drama, the extraordinary circumstances of their situation. They were as highly conscious of the nature of their own feelings and of the life-and-death importance to each of the outcome. It is the unusual combination of acknowledged urgency and inevitable introspection which gives the letters their peculiar character. The affair could not have been anything but a literary one. The two poets thought in terms of literature, their own especially. But to them literature was immediate, not second-hand, experience. When they write about each other's poetry it is as much a



Browning aged sixty-nine

revelation of personality and mutual love as when they speak of more common feelings. "Art . . . the one way possible/Of speaking truth, to mouths like mine at least", was of equal value to Browning with the woman he loved. He had first loved her for her art, and the close connexion between the material and the medium which is the key to the poet's view of life found an appropriate manifestation in his passion for Elizabeth Barrett.

Browning was exceptional in one among many other ways: he was the only major English poet to marry a woman of equal intellectual stature, whom he believed to be actually his superior in his own craft. This generous estimate of her work may seem to us, with critical hindsight, an act of indulgent graciousness: to him it was the simple truth. He possessed in a high degree the need of the poetic temperament to celebrate and to admire, and his first letter to Elizabeth, in which he declares that he loves her work and he loves her too, reveals that refusal to divide the pleasure from its source which is so characteristic of his deliberately undiscriminated inspiration. Browning could only celebrate the perfection which art mediates through so many contingent factors by an instinctive love of the "mediate word", the mediate fact, thing or person.

The earlier letters in the first volume of this edition contain most of the important revelations of Browning's poetic beliefs, made at the stage where the two were beginning to explore each other's mind and personality. Letter 7 speaks of his "dramatic sympathy with certain modifications of passion" which is all that his work has so far shown—his "scenes and song-scraps" being

> mere and very escapes of my inner power, which lives in me like the light in those crazy Mediterranean phares I have watched . . . at sea, wherein the light is ever revolving in a dark gallery, bright and alive, and only after a weary interval leaps out, for a moment, from the one narrow chink, and then goes on with the blind wall between it and you.

A brilliant image to describe the fitful vividness of his fragmentary method! In Letter 183 he answers Elizabeth's suggestion that he has given an unfair account of someone with a confession that describes the same tendency:

> That is a way of mine which you must have observed; that foolish concentrating of thought and feeling, for a moment, on some one little spot of a character or anything else indeed, and—in the attempt to do justice and develop whatever may seem ordinarily to be overlooked in it—that over vehement *insisting* on and giving undue prominence to, the same—which has the effect of taking away from the importance of the rest of the related objects which, in truth, are not considered at all.

This well defines what may be called his poetic method of distortion, and the reason for its peculiar character—an elliptical obscurity less of thought than of method.

Elizabeth tries to persuade him to speak in his own person, if only once, because she fears that "it is too difficult for the common reader to analyze and to discern between the vivid and the earnest" in his poems. He does not contradict her, but to Browning they were one. His letters, however, are more earnest than vivid (though the descriptions of Italy in Letters 20 and 61 have all the circumstantial energy of his best poems), and except for the revelation of uncommon magnanimity of temper, they are less immediately attractive than hers, with their intuitive touches of self-revelation, their wit and charm. Browning tends to get

bogged down in hi[s] ... tions, and in his sty[le] ... out of this slough of ... ories, and the metaph[or] ... dates. But the slow ... process of confession ... mitigated here by his ... of spirit, his instinctive ... of the other, his contin[u]... ness of what lies beyond ...

Once, in a rare mome[nt] ... to her the secret of his ... essential solitude whic[h] ... self-surrender of his lov[e] ... remarkable and impress[ive] ... 512, explaining his app[eal] ... he writes:

> I hate being *master*, a[nd] ... absolute disposer in p... love will save me the ... because there are influ[ences] ... greater points where the ... and will, with their ... cannot be avoided.... Al[so] ... be independent, whatever ... say. And so too, I like ... myself—but I should be ... ordinary friends I have ... you understand all this ... make me say it, in yo[ur] ... intelligibly?

So he explains his diffi[culty] ... others in the essential so... poetic imagination. Lik[e] ... liked Wordsworth, he ... here the same idea the ... expressed in *The Prelud[e]* ... have we all of us withi[n] ... Where all stand single ... letters do nothing else ... warn biographical critic[s] ... fallacy of supposing tha[t] ... reserve was weakness, ... or feminine reluctance ... himself. In the privacy o[f] ... could speak of it witho[ut] ... that he would be misund[erstood] ... fellow poet.

The character of Eliz[abeth] ... emerges in these letters ... clarity and equal fascin[ation] ... an admirable letter wri[ter] ... remarkable range of int... sense, keen observation ... discernment of emotion ... the goings-on of that d... household surrounding ... cribes her own feelings ... her intense and limited ... it—and never better tha[n] ... 143 where she bursts out ... to Browning for his ... her back to life—" ... gate of the prison!"— ... this with the complete ... received before from a ... ant but unable to make ... such a strip of sunshine ... finds on the floor some... his nose along with bot[h] ... the shadow". She show[s] ... charm in putting them ... even keel after one of ... misunderstandings (he b... impetuous, she too ca[utious]) ... she writes: "And we wil[l] ... cards and take patience ... game again."

From these letters it ... why she was the more p... That quick sense of ... related to an intense ... never isolated or cons... Browning: the quality of ... which makes the surface ... *Leigh* continually excit[ing] ... esting differs in kind fr[om] ... ing's precision and po... Elizabeth who brings ... environment, her ... world—her father's fo... stairs, Browning's flowe[rs] ... thunder, Flush and his ... little drama of his b... second time, culmina[ting] ... rehearsal of courage fo[r] ... ment—her actually go... to bargain with the do[g-stealers for] ... him. On the whole the ... comes from her, lette[rs] ... from his.

But together these l[etters] ... gradual progress the ... a rare relationship wh[ich] ... account the obstinate ... each lover and for th[e] ... more remarkable in its ... self-exposure and the ... of each to the other. T[he] ... dence of the pair who ... own words, would ... common wife and hu[sband] ... tutes a unique docu[ment] ... moving at the simple[st] ... and extraordinary in ... provides into the ... tween art and life.

PUBLISHING

[W]hat made Sami win

[... DE] MENDELSSOHN:
[S. Fischer] und sein Verlag
... Frankfurt: S. Fischer.

[Monumenta]l is the only word to des[cribe this r]emarkable book; and not [becau]se of its size. *S. Fischer [und sein V]erlag* is a monument to a ... to the tremendous business [w]hich he created from the [mos]t imaginable beginnings. [A mon]ument also to the author, ... and tenacity of a Ger[man] who, having left during [the Nazi p]eriod and built a new life [a]s a highly respected Eng[lish write]r and journalist, returned to [his] country to create yet a [caree]r for himself in the part ... in founding two important [G]erman papers, the Berlin ... and the Hamburg *Welt*. ... most substantial work, ... Mendelssohn has given ... an outstanding ability to master a vast amount of material and to create a readable—indeed a gripping—account of more than half a century of German publishing, in which wood and trees are clearly visible in their proper proportions. And this book is also a monument to that exceptionally fertile period of modern German literature from 1875 to the Nazi era.

First, then, the man. Born on Christmas Eve, 1869, in a small Slovakian village, Samuel—Sami to his intimates—Fischer came from a Jewish family which, on his mother's side, can be traced back to that cradle of much German-Jewish scholarship, Fürth, in Bavaria—the home, too, to a related family the Ullmanns, some of whom, under their later name Ullstein, were also destined to play an important part in German publishing history. At the age of fourteen, Sami went to Vienna to become an apprentice in a bookshop. Later he went to Berlin, acquired a shop of his own, and with the proceeds of the sale of the shop's lease—10,000 marks—set up, in 1886, as a publisher.

From then to 1934, the growth of the firm continued virtually uninterrupted. By the time of his death, Fischer owned a flourishing and highly valuable business and was the undisputed king of German publishing. Of course a large number of others had imitated him or, as so often happens with industrial pioneering, had benefited from his innovations. These were expanding rapidly and making large—some perhaps even larger—profits out of the growing mass market. In addition to building his own considerable fortune, Fischer was able to secure that of many of his authors, who—unlike those of the earlier period of German classicism or, for that matter, many authors everywhere today—had few, if any, other occupations and sources of income.

This commercial success clearly had its foundation in Fischer's remarkable business acumen, allied with an exceptional ability to discover and foster talented authors and to collect around himself highly capable and devoted collaborators particularly on the editorial side, notably Moritz Heimann and Oskar Loerke, himself not an inconsiderable poet. But these gifts, rare yet indispensable though they may be, could not by themselves account for Fischer's outstanding achievement. Throughout his life he seems to have remained an idealist about his own vocation. He was guided by a view of it which Mendelssohn has chosen as the motto of *S. Fischer und sein Verlag*: "The publisher's noblest mission is to force the public to accept values which it does not want." This may sound high-falutin, but this book is full of examples of Fischer's readiness, and even eagerness to take risks, often unsuccessfully (though admittedly often under pressure from "impossible" authors such as the aging Gerhart Hauptmann) where he felt that his cultural responsibility was engaged. One need not always agree with his judgment (for example so far as Hauptmann himself is concerned) to acknowledge the sincerity of the motive.

So this poor Jewish boy became the "fisher of souls", the midwife, and often the "onlie begetter" of much that constituted the extraordinary flowering of Germany's new classicism. Here they parade through the pages of this book; Hauptmann and Thomas Mann, Hofmannsthal and Hermann Hesse, Schnitzler and Altenberg, to name only a very few. And not only German writers. Among Fischer's earliest discoveries were a number of important authors from other countries; and he devoted himself to making them accessible to German readers, generally in excellent translations, so much so that many of them became as integral a part of Germany's literary patrimony as Shakespeare had become through the great Schlegel-Tieck translations of the eighteenth century. Dostoevsky was one of the earliest of this galaxy; the Scandinavians with Hamsun and Ibsen were others; and Shaw and Conrad were the shining English representatives. In Mendelssohn's masterly account of their relationship with Fischer they can be seen in a way which would normally have required full-length biographies of each one—and particularly perceptive ones at that. For here they are, warts and all, suffering all the travail of creative work: sometimes brilliant, sometimes painfully unproductive, lazy or greedy, assertive to their publisher, often irritating beyond normal endurance—but not Fischer's—often developing a genuine and intimate friendship with their impresario.

While the bulk of S. Fischer's output was literary in the narrow sense—novels, plays, essays—there was also a sprinkling of books on current political, social and economic topics. And while the fame of his enterprise will always rest on the great authors whom he discovered or promoted—and on the founding of those two highly influential journals *Freie Bühne* and its successor *Neue Rundschau* (the latter, of course, still being published), the few books on current topics—for example, the works of Walter Rathenau—bear witness to Fischer's discriminating sense of excellence as well as topicality in fields other than *schöne Literatur*. Fischer's death, mercifully no doubt, occurred before the full horror of the Nazi regime had asserted itself. Mendelssohn's account of the subsequent history of the firm is necessarily sketchy. However, those interested in the later, different, though historically no less significant phases can follow the story in an equally masterly account given by Fischer's son-in-law and successor, Gottfried Bermann Fischer, in *Bedroht, Bewahrt* (reviewed in the *TLS* on August 28, 1969).

[Cat]chpenny Catnach

[CHARLES] HINDLEY:
[The Life an]d Times of James Cat[nach] (... of Seven Dials), Ballad [Monger]
... [Wel]wyn Garden City: Seven ... £3.50.

... items can have had so ... , and at the same time [s]o ephemeral, as the penny ... broadsides that were [hawked thr]ough the streets during [the first ha]lf of the nineteenth cen[tury. The]y were, indeed, the pre[cursors of t]he popular press and, not ... the matters with which [they dealt] were similar to those ... [inte]rest, that press today: [sc]andals, royal occasions, ... [ent]ertainers.

... [the]re were several organi[zations pro]ducing these sheets, the ... boss of the business was ... [Cat]nach who, from his dingy ... No. 2, Monmouth Court, ... [Di]als, with the aid of four ... [w]ooden demy two-pull ... and never much more than ... [o]f four men, was able to ... record time a phenome[nal numbe]r of copies of the sheet ... to cash in on the sensa[tion of the] moment. Probably his ... [o]ccurred at the time of ... [Th]urtell murder of 1823, when ... [an]d his friends disposed of ... By working night and ... [work]men were able, within a ... off about a quarter of a ... [copi]es and, in addition, he ... occasion a couple more ... produced yet another ... million. That was good ... [an]d no wonder when the ... [Thurtell's tri]al and Thurtell safely ... Catnach was tempted to ... the great catchpenny ... [of a]ll time—the broadside ... in large type WE ARE [AG]AIN! in which the first ... were printed so close ... [tha]t the gullible public ... [bough]t it under the impres[sion that the] murdered man had ... dead.

[Many of t]hese broadsides were ... doggerel verse, often, it [is said, by] Catnach himself. The ... were of the Come-all- ... [a]re not, it is true, very ... [con]sidering the time per... [th]eir composition this is ... [surpr]ising. From the number ... given in this volume, it ... that almost the only ... any sense seem to have ... stirring apostrophe to

> ... Billy our king
> ... tax upon beer.

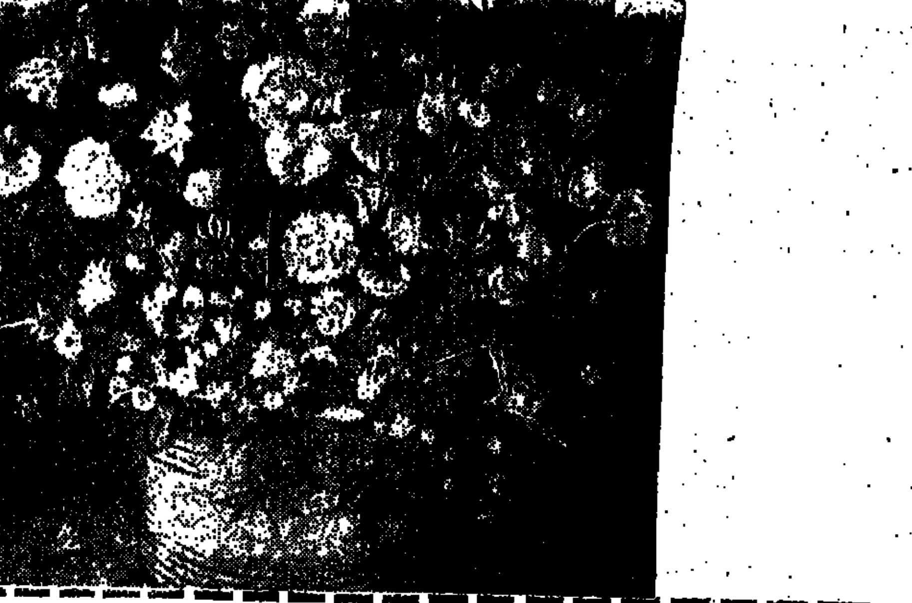
... some rather choice ... in the ballad of "The ... of which these lines ... sample:

> ... and fork the rag,
> ... plummy,
> ... ttle, bag the swag,
> ... nt the dummy.

As for Catnach himself, whom it was Hindley's ostensible purpose to memorialize with this book, there is not much to be said. His father, John, also a printer, was a resident of Alnwick, a town which as well as possessing linkages with Bewick had also a lively tradition of printing: William Davison, who for a while was John Catnach's partner, produced some quite excellent illustrated volumes in his time and was a keen collector of wood-blocks. The elder Catnach set forth, bankrupt, for London, but died soon after arriving there, and it was not until 1813 that his son James, then aged twenty-two, established the business which flourished exceedingly for the next thirty years.

He died in 1841, and Hindley, who was by way of being a virtuoso in such matters, published in 1869 a limited edition of a handbook to the works that had issued from his press. He followed this two years later with a second volume of *Curiosities of Street Literature*, and this in its turn was succeeded by the present volume, which has now been photographically reproduced from an original copy of 1878, and which (save for a few words on the jacket) contains no new explanatory matter whatsoever. This is a pity, for however assiduous Hindley may have been as a collector, he was no hand at writing a book. His material is flung down higgledy-piggledy, he cannot refrain from bolting after every irrelevancy, he can at times be tedious in the extreme. The book is valuable because it is copiously illustrated and because it deals with a subject of great interest that has not been tackled by a more competent hand. Even so, it is a work to be studied with great reserve; Hindley's illustrations are by no means all from Catnach publications, his information is by no means always accurate. It is true, of course, that Catnach was quite unscrupulous about the blocks he used to illustrate any particular sheet, but surely it would have been interesting to have noted that the cut at the end of the ballad, "The Dogs'-meat Man", which depicts a woman in bed and a casket inscribed "For the Shiloh", relates to the Joanna Southcott furore.

What, generally, is to be said of this new system of lavishly reproducing bad old books instead of commissioning good new ones? It is cheap, of course; it does, one presumes, fill a gap on the public library shelves. It is, however, far from an unmixed blessing. There was a sort of lounging, dilettante scholarship prevalent at the end of the nineteenth century which, we cannot but feel, should not be imported into these times when, whatever our failings, we have at least evolved editorial techniques of far greater sophistication.



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Oxford University Press.

Oxford in Asia, the Kuala Lumpur branch of the Oxford University Press, has for several years now been publishing a series of "Historical Reprints". These have all been extremely well produced, Oxford having taken full advantage of the technical resources of Hongkong and Japan.

There has, however, been a certain lack of consistency in the nature of the works selected for reissue. Some titles have been secondary monographs of comparatively recent date, like N. Tarling's *British Policy in the Malay Peninsula 1824-71*, which are perhaps still available in other editions. Other titles have consisted of anthologies, like William R. Roff's selections from the writings of Sir Hugh Clifford and Sir Frank Swettenham. These, though in themselves of great interest, are not really reprints; rather they are completely new editions, reset and arranged in a way for which there existed no precedent. Yet other titles have been culled from the voluminous list of works of travel and other miscellaneous writings about South-East and East Asia: here the criteria used for selection are not always above criticism. Is, for example, Isabella L. Bird's *The Golden Chersonese and the Way Thither* really worth rescuing from the obscurity of the stacks of the British Museum and the London Library?

The core of the series, however, consists of a list of titles the value of which is beyond challenge. The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw the creation of a great British empire in Asia, a process which also brought British diplomacy into contact with Oriental courts which did not, in the end, fall under British political control. The agents of this process of political and diplomatic expansion, men like the great Sir Stamford Raffles for example, were often extremely civilized men with interests ranging over a wide field beyond the immediate necessities of their official duties. On their return such men often produced reports, travel narratives and works of history which were sumptuously published at the time, sometimes with the aid of official subsidy, and which in many cases still deserve a place in any good library on Asian affairs: Raffles's great *The History of Java* is a good example of this genre. The original editions of such works are now rare and, with the inflation in antiquarian book prices, exceedingly costly. To reproduce them as nearly as possible in their original glory is the task which Oxford in Asia has undertaken and for which it deserves every praise.

Under the general editorship of John Bastin of the School of Oriental and African Studies and D. C. Twitchett of the University of Cambridge a most impressive list has already emerged. William Marsden's *The History of Sumatra*, Raffles's *The History of Java*, John Crawfurd's *Journal of an Embassy to Siam and Cochin China* and Henry Yule's *Narrative of the Mission to the Court of Ava in 1855* have all been reviewed already in these columns. To these are now added two more titles: Sir John Bowring's *The Kingdom and People of Siam* and Laurence Oliphant's *Elgin's Mission to China and Japan*. It is sincerely to be hoped that this does not mark the end of the road. Staunton's account of the Macartney Embassy is in urgent need of reprinting, as are some of the other writings of John Crawfurd.

The policy behind this particular category of the series would seem to be to produce as near a facsimile of the original edition, colour illustrations and all, as is possible within the limits of both price and the skill of Japanese printing technology. Something, of course, is always lost in the process of photolithography; but there can be no doubt that Oxford have produced results which, when compared to some other reprint houses and, above all, the cut-price reprinters of Taiwan, can only be described as superb. The colour plates in both Bowring and Oliphant are very good indeed, though the letterpress, particularly in the latter, is perhaps a little fainter than one might have wished.

Along with the reprinting, in each case a short introduction by a modern scholar has been added. So short, indeed, are these introductions that one may perhaps wonder whether they are needed at all. David K. Wyatt's nine pages on Bowring and J. J. Gerson's eight pages on Oliphant can hardly be considered adequate if they are intended as serious critical introductions to works of such importance. They are, really, just a bit of added garnish.

Might it not be better to preface the reprint with a proper introductory setting? The account of Bowring's Siamese mission of 1855 would certainly make more sense to the ordinary reader if it were accompanied by an analysis, even if somewhat compressed, of the previous course of Anglo-Siamese relations since at least the Crawfurd mission of 1822; and the Elgin narrative would undoubtedly benefit from an examination of the reasons why previous British embassies to the Chinese court, those of Macartney and Amherst, had failed where Elgin succeeded. This query, of course, does not arise with all volumes in the series. Hugh Tinker's editing of Yule's account of the Ava mission of 1855 does indeed make a major contribution because here the editor has provided us with a certain amount of new material, including some fascinating photographs which were not present in the original. No such additions, however, can be detected in the present reprints of Bowring and Oliphant.

This particular point becomes, perhaps, even more relevant in the case of another recent "Oxford in Asia Historical Reprint". Simon de la Loubère's *The Kingdom of Siam*, first published in English translation in 1693. David K. Wyatt is once more the editor, with less than five and a half pages (albeit very large ones) of introductory matter. While the original versions of Bowring and Oliphant, typical of mid-nineteenth-century typographic practice, do not differ too dramatically in look from the kind of book produced today, the reprint of Simon de la Loubère, the introduction excepted, is a facsimile reproduction of a very archaic kind of work indeed by modern standards.

The modern typography of the introduction clashes terribly with the late seventeenth-century type of the text. This would probably be well justified if the introduction presented us with a detailed account of that fascinating, but rather obscure, episode in Louis XIV's diplomacy when the French tried, and nearly with success, to establish a special relationship with King Narai of Siam and his Greek prime minister Phaulkon. De la Loubère's text, moreover, cries out for explanatory notes. On both these counts Mr. Wyatt's introduction leaves much to be desired.

Oxford in Asia and its editors, in other words, do not [illegible] quite made up their [illegible] what purpose their re[illegible] tended to serve. If they [illegible] to make available [illegible] now out of print, [illegible] simply reprint and [illegible] trimmings? The result [illegible] would be a true repro[illegible] another, it might even [illegible] the by no means low [illegible] volumes. If, on the oth[illegible] intend to produce critic[illegible] which the light of [illegible] arship is brought to [illegible] subject, then it would [illegible] ought to make sure [illegible] provided with more [illegible] material.

The present reviewer would be happy with [illegible] and he would be perfect[illegible] own a reprint of Bowr[illegible] or Simon de la Loubère[illegible] frills at all. The fact [illegible] must have involved t[illegible] printers, Akatsuki Prin[illegible] formidable technical p[illegible] not easy to make a [illegible] graphic reproduction of [illegible] seventeenth-century typ[illegible] teenth-century paper-[illegible] piece of book produc[illegible] delightful illusion of h[illegible] copy of a work fresh f[illegible] of F.L. at the Royal [illegible] 1693 is spoilt by a p[illegible] modern title-page; w[illegible] graphical contrast is be[illegible] because the old and [illegible] are printed facing each [illegible]

This, perhaps, is a [illegible] It is only raised here [illegible] overall standard of th[illegible] high, and indeed of a [illegible] very few other publishe[illegible] able to match and [illegible] Given the standards wh[illegible] Asia has set itself, even [illegible] not really excessive. O[illegible] one suspects, could a [illegible] reprint of Simon de la [illegible] *Kingdom of Siam* [illegible] £9.50; and sums like th[illegible] prove a good [illegible] probable that the "[illegible] Historical Reprints" [illegible] originals, will in [illegible] lectors' items.

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The writing of history was an important part of classical Arabic literature. Great rulers wanted their great deeds remembered, and those who believed in a religion based on a revelation of God's word at one time and one place needed to know every detail of what led up to that revelation and what led from it: the science of history grew out of the recording and study of the traditions of the Prophet Muhammad and his companions. For the same reason Muslim writers gave much attention to recording the lives of pious and learned men and women, and collecting them in classified biographical dictionaries. Since the Islamic community is not a church with a formal hierarchy, those who have created and preserved it are individual men and women who have cared for its well-being and developed and transmitted its culture; to record their lives and make clear the lines of transmission from one to another is, in the deepest sense, to write the history of Islam.

In Egypt this tradition of history-writing almost died out with Ibn Iyas, who wrote of the last days of the Mamluk Sultans and the first days of Ottoman rule, and so did the tradition of biography. It is surprising therefore that there appeared in Egypt, in the second half of the eighteenth century, an historian of the highest rank who combined in one book both a chronicle of events and a dictionary of the lives of scholars and other famous men, classified according to the year of their death. Abd al-Rahman al-Jabarti (1753-1825 or 1826) was conscious indeed of his own isolation. At the beginning of the work he gives us the names of many earlier historians but tells us he has seen little of their work: "nothing but a few scattered and disorderly parts on the bookshelves of the schools". The external stimulus to the writing of his book may have come from a Syrian; the writing of biographical dictionaries still went on in Syria, and al-Jabarti collected material for the author of one of the most famous of them, al-Muradi. But he himself spoke of an "inner urge" which led him to complete the work; it is the product of a true historian's mind, inquisitive, precise, detached, but also humanly concerned.

His book covers the years from 1688 to 1821, and falls naturally into two halves. For the period ending in 1756-57 al-Jabarti depends on earlier chronicles. He did not think much of them as a whole, and dismissed them as "sheets written by common soldiers, and defective in style and order"; when he found a better one, it was borrowed by a friend and he never saw it again. But from these poor sources he was able to create a vivid picture of Ottoman Egypt: the rise of a new Mamluk military order within the framework of Ottoman rule, and the conflict between the [illegible] holds, Qasim and [illegible] which appear in his pa[illegible] P. M. Holt) as "almost figures of Avarice and struggling for dom[illegible] Egypt".

From 1756-57 onwards what he himself observed what was known in his family circle. A scholar, son of a scholar, [illegible] connected by marriage [illegible] the great military fam[illegible] always been near the centre of power to [illegible] happening; and as a [illegible] had the good fortune [illegible] age when what was [illegible] momentous and strang[illegible] demand all his powers [illegible] and imagination.

Al-Jabarti begins his [illegible] the Muslim year 1213 [illegible] it marks the beginning [illegible] of "great bloodshed, [illegible] terrible disasters, [illegible] and calamities recurred [illegible] 1213 in the Muslim [illegible] in June, 1798, and [illegible] month first British and [illegible] ships appeared off Alex[illegible] Bonaparte landed with [illegible] conquered Egypt. [illegible] cription of the fight[illegible] French rule has often [illegible] accompanied by a vice[illegible] named Gaskin; sometimes [illegible] split into two pairs. Their [illegible] that they were "private [illegible] but in Ottoman areas [illegible] of course taken for spies [illegible] they were). In Arab [illegible] presence was necessary; [illegible] He was not entirely [illegible] French: true, they [illegible]

[illegible] with them, and the Copts, [illegible] Greeks and Jews who [illegible] them grew unbearably inso[illegible] but he describes with interest [illegible] some approval their libraries [illegible] scientific instruments, and the [illegible] on learning shown by their [illegible] Whether good or bad, their [illegible] ended the old order and [illegible] in a period of chaos which [illegible] the emergence of a new ruler, [illegible] Ali, gathering all power [illegible] hands and using it to seize [illegible] of Egypt, and to replace [illegible] institutions by new ones [illegible] from Europe.

[illegible]rti's picture of Muhammad [illegible]'s rule is hostile in the [illegible] and even in his own life[illegible] was known to be so. The [illegible] tells us that he was mur[illegible] by order of the ruler; this [illegible] now been shown to be [illegible] what is certain is that the [illegible] of Muhammad Ali previ[illegible] book being published until [illegible] of the 1870s. Even before [illegible] however, it circulated in manu[illegible]

urzon's guide to the Gulf

[illegible]ORIMER:
[illegible] of the Persian Gulf, Oman [illegible] Arabia
[illegible]es. Gregg International. [illegible]

[illegible] when he was sent in 1907 [illegible]s of Part II and a précis of [illegible] this great work, denied that [illegible] idea. "It seems very well [illegible] to err only in giving me [illegible] I cannot pretend to claim." [illegible]gor does so; nevertheless the [illegible] is the other way about. [illegible]urzon made his viceregal [illegible]e Persian Gulf in 1903, John [illegible]orimer, then an Indian civil [illegible] of thirty-three, was in his [illegible]and was the member of it [illegible] with ceremonial func[illegible]-Curzon's taste for [illegible]-a-like are probable, and [illegible]ere held with a young man [illegible] heart. For Lorimer, most [illegible] service had been on the [illegible] West Frontier, was a hard and [illegible] worker with a thirst for [illegible] If he had a fault, said his [illegible]on, it was "too many irons in [illegible]". These included a wide [illegible] of languages. In addition to [illegible]-level Pushtu and Persian [illegible]had learnt in the course of his [illegible]e had written a grammar [illegible]ionary of the Waziri variant [illegible]an, and had mastered extra[illegible] while on leave. He had [illegible] the Indians in East Africa, [illegible] a local examination in [illegible]ature, and had spent part of [illegible] in Cairo to qualify for the [illegible] examination in colloquial [illegible]having been taught only the [illegible]language in India.

[illegible], travelling by sea, took [illegible] a large library, but found [illegible]quate for areas inland. [illegible] year, and over six exalted [illegible] that included those of the [illegible] and the Commander-in-[illegible] "convenient and portable [illegible]" of the Gulf was commis[illegible] Lorimer was detached [illegible] Convenient it was and [illegible]t portable it is not. It runs [illegible]5,000 pages, excluding the [illegible] that holds the family-[illegible] the rulers with whom the [illegible]ents of India and Bombay [illegible]ded, and the best map then [illegible], prepared with the help [illegible]rvey of India.

[illegible]r was given a year off for [illegible] accompanied by a young [illegible] named Gabriel and a [illegible]surveyor", he went as far [illegible] Baghdad and as far inland [illegible] on the west and Ahwaz on [illegible]east. In the Arab areas he [illegible] accompanied by a vice[illegible]named Gaskin; sometimes [illegible] split into two pairs. Their [illegible] that they were "private [illegible] but in Ottoman areas [illegible] of course taken for spies [illegible] they were). In Arab [illegible] presence was necessary; [illegible] He was not entirely [illegible] French: true, they [illegible]

lend them camels and retainers, and they had the advantage of naval help whenever they needed to be ferried to and fro across the Gulf. They therefore moved faster than most travellers of their date; but they were not able to go far from the coast on the Arab side because of the current struggles between rival Arab emirs and between these and the Turks. Speed did not prevent them from picking up soil samples, cattle statistics, and acquaintances.

On return to India in 1905, Lorimer was appointed to the new North-West Frontier Province; why he was lodged so far from libraries is a mystery. But the drawback was mitigated by "special extension" facilities which included a right to call on much research assistance. Copious summaries, that were thought worth printing were prepared for him; Gabriel did him a précis on the arms trade, and the library of the Foreign Department supplied regional data summarized from consular reports, naval and telegraph surveys, and the diaries of soldiers and civilians who had tramped caravan routes in Persia. For inland Arabia he used published travel books such as those by Doughty and Huber.

But the Gazetteer, which he wrote first, and which was published in 1908, is largely based on his own notes. It sets out in alphabetical order details of tribes, districts, towns and villages, as well as natural features. Visits to the holy men of the Shiah shrines in Iraq cause him to report that Karbala is "a Persian city at a distance of 150 miles from the Persian frontier"; he got from someone, at second hand, the amount of arms available in Riyadh; under "Iraq (Turkish)" a long section on Turkish military establishments shows that Turkish suspicions were justified. All this was printed in tens of copies only, because it was so secret.

His mass of surplus material he swelled into the historical part, which was finished by the time he became consul-general in Baghdad in 1909 but which was not printed until 1915, and then only in the same limited quantity; though little of it seems secret now, that label is soon applied in wartime. Circulation of the Gazetteer outside India was confined to the India Office and posts in the Gulf, Persia and the Ottoman Empire; the total number of copies grew less when those supplied to posts in Turkey were burnt, along with the ciphers and other secrets, on the outbreak of war with the Turks in 1914.

Lorimer's work stands the test of time. There is no modern substitute for the Gazetteer, which is valuable to historians and, though its information stops at 1907, remains useful to others because it records much that did not change until oil began to transform the scene in the 1950s: it contains some facts that have not changed now. The history, by contrast, has some modern substitutes that use a wider range of sources; for Arabia, Philby uses two Arab historians; for Persia, Russian archives and Persian sources have been used, though negligibly for the south coast. J. B. Kelly is the modern historian who most nearly covers the same field; as well as using what Lorimer used, he taps Foreign Office material that Lorimer did not see. But he is longwinded where Lorimer is pithy, and in any case his history ends in 1880. Considering where and when Lorimer wrote, his coverage is stupendous and his capacity for brevity unmatched. Now and then he inserts an opinion that dates him; for instance, by the standards of today it is unreasonable even to suggest that as a result of the first Afghan War "the military and political knowledge gained by Britain, to say nothing of the plain warning held out to Russia, formed an adequate return for the bloody and expensive campaign of 1838-42"; catastrophe is the modern word for it. Some of his strictures on the Russians will warm Tory hearts, though his suspects come by land, not sea.

A reprint, even at this immense price, will be a boon to specialist libraries. In England, only a handful possess the original, and this was inaccessible, under the fifty-year rule, until 1955. Copies may be useful to the many wealthy libraries that are being set up in Persia and all along the Arabian side of the Gulf, though some may already possess the Arabic translation financed by the Ruler of Qatar.

At last, Lorimer will receive his due. For when he died at the early age of forty-four (he shot himself by accident in 1914 when emptying a pistol) his sterling character was extolled, but not a word was said of the one great and permanent monument that he left behind him: now reprinted, without going back to the Arabic text, it will also be at his peril. Made in 1888, with encouragement from the Egyptian government, it is far from being an accurate version. The text from which it was made was itself unsatisfactory; we still need a modern critical edition. The translators are not at ease with the technical terms of Ottoman and Mamluk Egypt; sometimes they make mistakes in translation, and more often they give a rough approximation rather than a precise rendering of passages difficult enough, it is true, to trouble any scholar. But a reader who does not know Arabic and is not professionally concerned with the history of Egypt will gain from these volumes a vivid impression of the life of Cairo in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and of the author's mind. Even those who know Arabic will find the translation useful for reference and as a guide through the badly printed and congested pages of the old Cairo editions.

Pacifying Pathans

ROBERT WARBURTON:
Eighteen Years in the Khyber 1879-1898
351pp. Oxford University Press. £4.50.

To turn the pages of this book is to be translated into the epoch when Rudyard Kipling brought to Englishmen at home the true dimensions of the task which faced their fellow-countrymen on the north-western marches of India. It was from Robert Warburton, half-Afghan as he was, that Kipling drew his famous policeman ("Strickland" in other stories), whose verbal sword-play with the Sahiba after Kim and the Lama had joined her cortège all readers of *Kim* will remember. Here, too, are set down the facts, as Mahbub Ali gleefully related them, of how the formidable "Colonel Soady Sahib" "flooded the Commissioner's camping ground at Fort Abazai out of spite".

Warburton was in the tradition of Mackeson, Herbert Edwardes, James Abbott, George Lawrence, John Nicholson, and Harry Lumsden—men who found the Pathans restless and sore from the harsh rule of the Sikhs, and by personal influence spread a modicum of order and respect for law through the tribal areas. At a time when the unprovoked murder of an infidel was regarded as a passport to paradise by fanatical *ghazis*, these men took enormous personal risks. "I found", writes Warburton, "that the people were better pleased when they felt assured that I trusted them entirely with my safety. I therefore always went about with only a stick in my hand." His pages are full of bitter tribal feuds, of fakir's curses, of killings enforced by tradition, of incitements to holy war by restless mullahs and fanatical divinity students. And like a golden thread running through these tales of battle, murder, and sudden death is the devoted personal attachment formed between the British officers and their trusted Afghan friends. It is this attachment which formed the very basis of the pacifying work which Warburton and his like carried on at the daily risk of their lives.

It would be a serious mistake to look upon Warburton's book merely as a record of work which has vanished along with the Raj which inspired it. What he and others like him achieved is remembered today in the area where they laboured. Visitors to the mess of the Khyber Rifles, whom Warburton did so much to raise to their present proud position, will find that his name is now honoured even more deeply than when he was alive. The peace which envelops the Khyber owes much, needless to say, to the fact that Pakistan, successor to the responsibilities so long wielded by the Raj, is herself a Muslim power, respected even by the most fanatical of mullahs, and no fit object of a holy war. But to talk to the Pakistani political officers who now carry on the work which Warburton began so well is to find them frankly grateful for all that the British accomplished in the face of difficulties which they themselves no longer encounter. The growing order and prosperity of the frontier areas, in which Pakistan can take legitimate pride, has been went about with only a stick in my hand." His pages are full of bitter tribal feuds, of fakir's curses, of killings enforced by tradition, of incitements to holy war by restless mullahs and fanatical divinity students. And like a golden thread running through these tales of battle, murder, and sudden death is the devoted personal attachment formed between the British officers and their trusted Afghan friends. It is this attachment which formed the very basis of the pacifying work which Warburton and his like carried on at the daily risk of their lives.

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Pleasing prospects

ROLOFF BENY:
Inland Ceylon
Text by John Lindsay Opie.
224pp. Thames and Hudson. £6.30

C. H. B. REYNOLDS (Editor):
An Anthology of Sinhalese Literature up to 1815.
Translated by W. G. Archer and others.
377pp. Allen and Unwin. £4.50.

It is a happy coincidence that these two books should have been published roughly at the same time, because together they help to explain something of the rather puzzling fascination which Ceylon, through the ages, has exercised over the outside world. From the time when the early Chinese travellers termed it "the land without sorrow", to the Western visitors of today who find in it something so attractive that they are tempted to spend their life there, the magic has endured and shows no sign of losing its potency. Even Bishop Heber, in spite of having his cabin thrigled by an enterprising gentleman of Sinhalese extraction while the East Indiaman carrying him to his pastoral cares in Calcutta was anchored off Colombo, was constrained to admit that even though "man" might be "vile", "every prospect pleases". Something, no doubt, of this fascination is due to compactness, to the amazing changes of scenery and climate which can be found within a few miles, to the absence of grinding poverty, to the charm and courtesy of the people, to their pride in their culture and to the magnificence of the monuments of their past.

All these, and many other, aspects of Ceylon have been most vividly depicted by Mr. Beny, with the astonishing technical skill and the cultivated facility for revealing beauty which those who know his work on India, Japan, and his native Canada have learnt to expect from him. Mr. Opie, with his extracts from the chronicles, his passages from Indian, Arab, Portuguese, Dutch, British and other travellers, his accounts of religious influences and archaeological treasures, has constructed an expository text which rounds off *Island Ceylon* with satisfying completeness. For those who wish to learn more of Sinhalese literature, from the graffiti of Sigiri to comparatively modern religious and secular tales and verse, the anthology edited by Mr. Reynolds is just the thing. Each of these beautifully produced books supplements and illumines the other.



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Re-inventing the alphabet

HERMANN ZAPF:
Manuale Typographicum
123pp. £8.65 (paperback £2.80).

About Alphabets: Some Marginal Notes on Type Design
142pp. £4.65 (paperback £1.40).
M.I.T. Press.

Two of Zapf's most important books, originally issued in limited editions, have long been out of print. By re-issuing both simultaneously in paperback and cloth editions, the M.I.T. Press has done a great service to the growing number of people who are interested in Zapf and his work.

Of his *Manuale Typographicum*, first issued in 1954 (not to be confused with his later book published in 1968 with the identical title), it need only be noted that the reissue by offset in two colours reproduces the whole of the original edition in an oblong format reduced from 12 by 9in. to 9½ by 6¼in. But the contents of his smaller book *About Alphabets*, originally produced for The Typophiles of New York in 1960, have been so much enlarged that the new edition deserves a full review.

When the first edition appeared in 1960, Zapf was little more than forty years old, but he had already designed more than fifty types. Since 1960 he has designed only fifteen more: and it is significant that eleven of these were created entirely for filmsetting. Apart from a type made in four sizes for the Hunt Botanical Library, and three additional weights for Optima (one of his most original designs), Zapf has adapted six of his earlier types for filmsetting, and has produced five new designs solely for filmsetting.

It is significant too that the only substantial alteration to the first sixty-six pages of his text is the caution that "no part of this book may be reproduced in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or by any information storage and retrieval system, without permission". For what has absorbed so much of Zapf's time in the past ten years, and what has so much discouraged him from maintaining his own previous rate of producing new types, is the spate of these new techniques which are used to copy alphabets.

To Zapf, these new techniques pose new opportunities, and new dangers. Free from the constraints of typefounding and typesetting, he can now create new types of greater beauty and originality. But to exploit the possibilities of computer-aided composition, and of cathode ray tubes in generating type-forms, demands slow and painstaking investigation and analysis by the designer. For years he has "studied and analysed an alphabet to be based on a pure logical concept completely under digital control". Fortunately he has had since childhood a special liking for electrical engineering, as well as a passion for creating new types.

Yet the spate of new techniques introduced in the past decade to reproduce types has also meant that Zapf's designs for types have constantly been pirated—copied (sometimes under another name) without his permission, or altered by photographic means without his consent. If his rate of productivity as a type designer has slackened in the past ten years, it is not only because a new type now demands a longer period for investigation and development: it is also because a type designer can no longer afford to devote himself solely to work which unauthorized copying makes so unremunerative.

The extent to which Zapf has lately diversified his activities is told with simplicity and enthusiasm in fourteen additional pages of text and several new illustrations. He has modestly made no change to the title of his book. Taking once again some licence with his sub-title, he has retained the same informal arrangement of the original edition, so that his main text is frequently interspersed with long commentaries in closely-set lines. From these we learn of his work as a consultant to Hallmark Cards Inc. of Kansas City, for whom he has designed three alphabets, and for whom he conducts a programme for training lettering artists. This led to the making of an educational film, *The Art of Hermann Zapf*, shown in 1957 at the Unesco meeting of the Association Typographique Internationale (to which Zapf has given active support since its inception in 1957). He has also taught at the Carnegie Institute of Technology in Pittsburgh. As a teacher he has experienced the need for new training techniques. He would like to produce a new guide book to show "contemporary possibilities of lettering quite different from what is now usually taught in schools and publications".

He is well qualified to write such a book, but too much of his time is now absorbed with new interests. Among these are experiments in painting "using various techniques and materials with co[...] ments and letterform[...] setting up of his ow[...] house, the Z-Press. H[...] necessary to devote m[...] time for basic research[...] up his own archive on v[...] as computer-aided comp[...] alphabets generated by [...] tube. For he has alway[...] have everything at hand[...] analytic composition [...] for complex printing job[...] for future studies". Abo[...] typifies the new analy[...] the fully-equipped typo[...] realizes that problems [...] forms will no longer be s[...] designer alone. The elec[...] nician will in future be h[...] tor, just as the punch cu[...] collaborated in produc[...] size for each new type [...] foundry. Yet he forese[...] future role of the alpha[...] will be to coordinate th[...] development of letter fo[...] needs of all the advance[...] that becomes available.

To those who hold [...] graphy is a subject for [...] and not merely for techn[...] is reason to rejoice tha[...] Zapf's abilities has com[...] self in print with words [...] tions to prove the contr[...]

A selected list of recent reprints

Art

BERNARD BERENSON: *The Drawings of the Florentine Painters.* Vol. 1, Text: 367pp. Vol. 2, Catalogue: 388pp. Vol. 3, Illustrations: 1,009 plates. University of Chicago Press. £16.

DAVID GASCOYNE: *A Short Survey of Surrealism.* 162pp. Cass. £2.25.

IOLO A. WILLIAMS: *Early English Watercolours* and Some Cognate Drawings by Artists Born Not Later than 1785. 266pp. plus 412 plates. Bath: Kingsmead Reprints. £6.

This reprint of this personal and admirable book is introduced by Edward Croft-Murray and Malcolm Cormack, with a warm tribute to the author's skill and qualities.

GEORGE C. WILLIAMSON: *The Book of Famille Rose.* 231pp. plus 62 plates. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner. £12.

A study of the Yung Cheng and Ch'ien Lung porcelains originally published in a limited edition in 1927.

Biography and Memoirs

EILEEN BIGLAND: *The Indomitable Mrs. Trollope.* 219pp. Barrie and Jenkins. £1.50.

JOSEPH MITCHELL: *Reminiscences of My Life in the Highlands (1883)* Volume 1. New Introduction, Corrigenda and Index by Ian Robertson. 362pp. Newton Abbot: David and Charles Reprints. £5.25.

Born in 1803 Joseph Mitchell, a civil engineer, is known chiefly as the projector of the Highland Railway.

ERNEST CAMPBELL MOSSNER: *The Life of David Hume.* 683pp. Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press. £5.

First published by Nelson in 1954.

Cartography

F. J. MONKHOUSE and H. R. WILKINSON: *Maps and Diagrams.* 522pp. Methuen. £3.50 (paperback, £1.75).

The third edition of a book originally intended to cover the requirements of university cartography. It has been revised as a result of changes and developments in the subject made in the past ten years.

Chapbooks

EDWIN PEARSON: *Banbury Chap Books and Nursery Toy Book Literature of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries.* Welwyn Garden City: Seven Dials Press. £2.75.

First published in 1890. The present volume has a brief but informative foreword by Mr. Victor Neuburg.

Coins and Currency

HERBERT A. GRUEBER: *Handbook of the Coins of Great Britain and Ireland in the British Museum.* Revisions by J. P. C. Kent, I. H. Stewart, P. Finn and H. W. A. Linecar. 272pp. plus 64 plates. Spink. £5.

Reprinted by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum, the *Handbook* contains additional material on English coins contributed by members of the Department of Coins and Medals.

A. HINGSTON QUIGGIN: *A Survey of Primitive Money.* 344pp. plus 32 plates. Methuen. £6.

Originally issued in 1949, with an introduction by A. C. Haddon and illustrations by Daphne Kennett.

Drama and Dramatic Studies

KENNETH MUIR and SEAN O'LOUGHLIN: *The Voyage to Illyria.* 242pp. Methuen. £3.75.

A study of Shakespeare issued in 1937.

Lady Gregory: Collected Plays
Volume 1: The Comedies. 304pp. £3.75. Volume 2: The Tragedies and Tragic-Comedies. 361pp. £4.25. Volume 3: The Wonder and Supernatural Plays. 434pp. £4.75. Volume 4: The Translations and Adaptations of Lady Gregory and her Collaborations with Douglas Hyde and W. B. Yeats. 376pp. £4.25. Edited by Ann Saddlemyer. Gerrards Cross: Colin Smythe.

Additions to the series of books by and about Lady Gregory which were saluted by the *TLS* in a front-page article on July 16 last year.

C. J. SISSON: *Lost Plays of Shakespeare's Age.* 221pp. Cass. £3.15.

Mr. Sisson's stories of the England and people that Shakespeare knew are also intended to add to existing knowledge of the Elizabethan stage and to reveal something of the many Elizabethan plays, of which little remains except their entry in Henslowe's Diary. The book was first issued in 1936.

Education

RANDOLPH S. BOURNE: *The Gary Schools.* Epilogue by Abraham Flexner and Frank P. Bachman. Introduced by Adeline and Murray Levine. 323pp. M.I.T. Press. £5.85.

Originally published in 1916, this is an account of the public school system of Gary, Indiana—a system planned to educate the child, from nursery school to the first years of college, in an integrated and continuous fashion.

History

JOHN BARROW: *A Chronological History of Voyages into the Arctic Regions (1818).* New Introduction by Christopher Lloyd. 379pp. plus appendixes of 48pp. Newton Abbot: David and Charles Reprints. £5.25.

Undertaken chiefly for the purpose of discovering a North-East, North-West or Polar passage between the Atlantic and Pacific.

"Classics of British Historical Literature", edited by John Clive:

HENRY THOMAS BUCKLE: *On Scotland and the Scotch Intellect.* Edited by H. J. Hanham. 414pp. £5.85.

EDWARD LYTTON BULWER: *England and the English.* Edited by Standish Meacham. 436pp. £5.85.

WILLIAM CAMDEN: *The History of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princess Elizabeth, Late Queen of England.* (Selected Chapters.) Edited by Wallace T. MacCaffrey. 351pp. £5.65.

R. W. CHURCH: *The Oxford Movement.* Twelve Years, 1833-1845. Edited by Geoffrey Best. 280pp. £4.05.

University of Chicago Press.

Professor Clive explains that the major purpose of the series is to put into the hands of students and other interested readers outstanding—and sometimes neglected—works on British history which have either gone out of print or are obtainable only at a forbiddingly high price. He also points to the reasons for including the word "literature" in the title of the series: history, if it is to survive beyond its own generation, must be memorably written; and to restrict a reader's choice to formal works of history might mean missing a great deal; sometimes "informal" historical works—novels, sociological inquiries and so on—teach us just as much about the past as does the "history" that calls itself by that name.

These four works have informative and effective introductions.

The English Revolution. General Editor: Robin Jeffs. Part I: *Fast Sermons to Parliament.* Volume 1, Nov. 1640-Nov. 1641: 401pp. Volume 2, Dec. 1641-April 1642: 508pp. Reproductions in Facsimile. Notes by Robin Jeffs. Cornmarket Press. £560 for complete set of 35 volumes in Part I.

T. D. KENDRICK: *British Antiquity.* 171pp. Methuen. £3.50.

A short account of antiquarian thought in Britain from 1135-1635. Originally issued in 1950.

EDWARD MACLYSAGHT (Editor): *The Kenmare Manuscripts.* 517pp. Shannon: Irish University Press for the Irish Manuscripts Commission. £5.25.

A photolithographic facsimile of the Dublin edition of 1942.

HARRIS NICOLAS: *History of the Battle of Agincourt.* 106pp. Pordes. £9.45.

H. H. SCULLARD: *From the Gracchi to Nero:* A History of Rome from 133 B.C. to A.D. 68. Third Edition. 484pp. Methuen. £2.10 (paperback, £1.10).

The Sheffield Outrages. Report presented to the Trades Unions Commissioners in 1867, with an introduction by Sidney Pollard. 452pp. Bath: Adams and Dart. £5.25.

Sidney Pollard is Professor of Economic History in the University of Sheffield and he outlines the background to the Minutes of Evidence taken by the Commissioners. These Minutes are reprinted in full together with the official Report. Professor Pollard also assesses the importance of these allegations of violence among the Sheffield trades in the light of social and industrial history.

FRITZ STERN (Editor): *The Varieties of History* from Voltaire to the Present. 457pp. Macmillan. £2 (paperback, 75p).

OLIVER WARNER: *Nelson's Battles.* 254pp. Newton Abbot: David and Charles. £3.15.

Landscape

The Rise and Progress of the Present Taste in Planting Parks, Pleasure Grounds, Gardens, etc. A Facsimile with an introduction by John Harris. 31pp. Newcastle upon Tyne: Oriel Press. £5.

Literature and Literary Studies

NEVILLE BRAYBROOKE (Editor): *T. S. Eliot.* 221pp. Garnstone Press. £2.25.

A reprint of the symposium for T. S. Eliot's seventieth birthday first published by Rupert Hart-Davis in 1958.

JOSEPH GLANVILL: *The Vanity of Dogmatizing:* The Three "Versions". Introduction by Stephen Medcalf. Hove: Harvester Press. £8.

The first volume in the Harvester Renaissance Library. This edition contains the 1661 text of *The Vanity of Dogmatizing*, the 1665 text of *Scepsis Scientifica* and [...] 1676 text of *Essays on* [...] *portant Subjects in Phi*[...] *Religion.*

GEORGE KANE: *Middle* [...]*erature.* 252pp. Meth[...]

A critical study of the Ro[...] Religious Lyrics and Pi[...] first published in 1951.

EUGÈNE VINAVER: *Malo*[...] Clarendon Press: Oxf[...] sity Press. £2.25.

This reprint contains a [...] a half page introdu[...] author.

CHARLES WILLIAMS: [...] *the City* and other Ess[...] and introduced by [...] 199pp. Oxford Univ[...] £2.

Reprinted lithographical[...] edition of 1958.

Local History

ROBERT GREENHALGH [...] JENNIE BARNES Pope: [...] *New York Port* [...] 481pp. Newton Abb[...] and Charles. £5.25.

This study of the rise of [...] port originally appeared [...]

R. W. GREAVES: *The Co*[...] *Leicester 1689-18*[...] Leicester University Pr[...]

In this edition the bibli[...] tained in the 1939 edition [...] ally appeared as part of [...] Historical series) has bee[...] the bibliographical re[...] indicated in the footno[...] list of works published [...] given.

CECIL TORR: *Small Ta*[...]*land.* New introduc[...] Simmons. 112pp. [...] and Dart. £2.50.

This book brings toget[...] volumes published by th[...] University Press in 191[...] 1923, in which the autho[...] from Lustleigh, Devo[...] account of the local [...] area from the 1840s [...] makes very agreeable [...]

Mythology

C. G. JUNG and C. KE[...]: [...]*duction to a Scien*[...]*logy.* The Myth of [...] Child and the Myste[...] Translated by R. F. C. [...] Routledge and Kega[...]

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[...] *of Robert Fergusson.* To [...] prefixed a Sketch of the [...] Life. 364pp. Edinburgh: [...]in. £3.75.

[...] of the 1807 edition.

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[...] of the second edition [...]

[...]ER and RICHARD ROSE: [...] *General Election of 1959.* 293pp. Cass. £3.75.

The fifth in the Nuffield College series of election studies, first published ten years ago.

GEORGE CORNEWALL LEWIS: *Remarks on the Use and Abuse of Some Political Terms.* 264pp. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. $8.

A facsimile of the 1832 text with a preface and introductory essay by Charles Frederick Mullett.

Political Party Year Books, Part 1: *The Constitutional Year Book.* Volume 1: 1885. Introduction by Robert Rhodes James. 304pp. Volume 2: 1886. 501pp. Volume 3: 1887. 430pp. Hove: Harvester Press. £1,320 for 128 volume series. £660 for 58 volume set of *The Constitutional Year Book 1885-1939.*

The first three volumes in a series of *British Political Sources:* Political Party Yearbooks, 1885-1948. It is hoped that the project will be completed in 1974.

CHARLES SEYMOUR: *Electoral Reform in England and Wales (1915).* The Development and Operation of the Parliamentary Franchise, 1832-1885. New Introduction by Michael Hurst. 564pp. Newton Abbot: David and Charles Reprints. £4.20.

The author was Assistant Professor of History in Yale College and his book was first published by the Yale University Press in 1915.

Science and Technology

Birmingham and Its Regional Setting: A Scientific Survey. New Foreword by M. J. Wise. 334pp. Wakefield: S.R. Publishers. £3.75.

This volume was originally prepared in 1960 as a scientific survey for the sixth visit to Birmingham of the British Association.

JOHN CURR: *The Coal Viewer and Engine Builder's Practical Companion.* New Introduction by Charles Lee. 96pp. Cass. £3.15.

JOHN FAREY: *A Treatise on the Steam Engine.* Historical, Practical and Descriptive (1827). Volume I: 728pp. plus 25 plates. Newton Abbot: David and Charles Reprints. £8.40.

Sociology

R. M. MACIVER: *Community: A Sociological Study.* Being an Attempt to Set out the Nature and Fundamental Laws of Social Life. 446pp. Cass. £5.

This fourth edition has a new preface by the author who claims that the main principles for which his book (written in 1917 when he had never heard the word "sociology") contends, if stated too simply and too absolutely, remain unscathed.

Statistics

RUSSELL LANGLEY: *Practical Statistics* for Non-Mathematical People. 399pp. Newton Abbot: David and Charles. £2.50.

The first hardback edition of a book on statistical inference first published in 1968 by Pan Books.

Transport

L. T. C. ROLT: *Red for Danger.* 287pp. Newton Abbot: David and Charles. £2.50.

Mr. Rolt's book on railway accidents, their causes, and steps taken to avoid them is reprinted from the extended edition published in 1966.

Travel

FRANCIS GALTON: *The Art of Travel* (1872). A Reprint of *The Art of Travel; or Shifts and Contrivances Available in Wild Countries.* Introduction by Dorothy Middleton. 366pp. Newton Abbot: David and Charles Reprints. £2.75.

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[illegible]OR ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN [illegible] (female) required from 8th March, [illegible] to fill an important post in a busy [illegible] Library providing a library and [illegible] service for staff, students and [illegible] industry. The person appointed will [illegible] Chartered Librarian, and will be [illegible] with cataloguing, classification [illegible] and inquiry work. He/she will [illegible] a member of a small specialist [illegible] promoting the dissemination of [illegible] in the fields of Building, [illegible] and Industry. The post is [illegible] 3/3 on the local government [illegible], i.e. £1,038 to £1,776 p.a. The [illegible] of entry being determined by age, [illegible] qualifications and experience.

[illegible] are invited to telephone [illegible] of their applications to the Tutor [illegible] at the college by 26th February. [illegible] of application, however, should [illegible] addressed to the College Registrar.

ROYAL COMMONWEALTH SOCIETY

The Library has a vacancy for an INFORMATION OFFICER. The main responsibilities of the post are the revision of the Society's Notes on Living Conditions in Commonwealth Countries; collection of information on current Commonwealth topics; and answers to enquiries on such matters. Commencing salary up to £1,100 according to experience and qualifications.

Apply (in writing if possible) to the Librarian, Royal Commonwealth Society, Northumberland Avenue, London, W.C.2. Telephone 01 930 6733.

LIBRARY ASSISTANT

with typing ability required for work in general cultural and recreational library. Experience desirable but not essential. Salary in the scale £690 by £60 to £990 p.a. Four weeks' leave. Hours, 9.30 to 5.30 Monday to Friday.

Applications to Haldane Librarian, Imperial College of Science and Technology, London, S.W.7, as soon as possible or telephone 589 5111, Ext. 2101.

LEICESTER COLLEGE OF EDUCATION

QUALIFIED LIBRARIAN

(Re-advertisement)

Required to take charge of library at The Northampton Annexe of the College. Chartered Librarian preferred; experience in cataloguing, classification (Dewey) and typing essential. Assistance may be required in main college library during vacations.

Salary on Librarians Scale, £1,038 to £1,515 per annum. Commencing salary according to qualifications and experience; minimum point for Chartered Librarian £1,413 per annum.

Further particulars from Librarian Tutor, College of Education, Scraptoft, Leicester (Tel. Thurnby 4101), to whom applications (no forms) should be submitted as soon as possible.

LONDONDERRY COUNTY LIBRARY

CHIEF ASSISTANT

SCHOOLS LIBRARY DEPARTMENT

Applications are invited from CHARTERED LIBRARIANS for the above POST. The Schools Library Department, part of a progressive County Library system, provides a service which includes prints, film strips, slides and gramophone records to all schools in the County.

Salary within Librarians grade £1,038 to £1,776.

Applications (no forms) together with the names and addresses of two referees to the County Librarian, County Library, Rowlerock Road, Coleraine, County Londonderry (Coleraine 4111 ext. 311).

NATIONAL CENTRAL LIBRARY

SECRETARY TO THE LIBRARIAN

Salary range £1,316 to £1,568. Shorthand essential; organizing ability required; graduate preferred. Five-day week.

Apply (by letter or telephone) to Librarian, National Central Library, Store Street, W.C.1. 01-636 0755, ext. 20/21.

CITY OF WESTMINSTER

PUBLIC LIBRARIES

Part-time LIBRARY ASSISTANTS (19 hours per week) are required to work at Little Portland and Buckingham Palace Road Libraries. Salary according to age and qualifications. Telephone 01-935 7766, extension 102, in order to make an appointment.

A. G. Dawtry, Town Clerk.

COUNTY BOROUGH OF ROCHDALE

LIBRARIES AND ARTS SERVICES

APPLICATIONS are invited for the POST of ASSISTANT CATALOGUER. This junior professional post also offers opportunities for public inquiry duties in a busy Lending Department and some relief duties in the Reference Library. Possible promotion eventually to more senior post.

Applicants must have at least completed Parts I and II Library Association Examinations. Salary within Librarians' Scale—£1,038 to £1,515 per annum, with minimum starting salary of £1,413 per annum for Chartered Librarians.

For further details, telephone Mr. Milne, Rochdale 44146. Applications to the Director, Central Library, Esplanade, Rochdale, Lancashire, by 27th February, 1971.

LIBRARY ASSISTANT

with G.C.E. required for London research establishment. Facilities for study. 35-hour, 5-day week.—Tel. 01-387 6411, Librarian.

Public and University Appointments

UNIVERSITY OF NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE

DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY

The University invites applications from men and women for a Lectureship in Philosophy tenable from 1st October, 1971, or such earlier date as may be agreed.

The commencing salary will be at an appropriate point on the scale £1,491 to £3,417 according to age, qualifications and experience. Membership of F.S.S.U. required.

Further particulars may be obtained from the Registrar, The University, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE1 7RU, with whom applications (three copies) together with the names and addresses of three referees, should be lodged not later than 1st April, 1971. Telephone enquiries: 0632 28511 extension 3068 or 3681. Please quote reference T.L.S. 1

Typing Services

ACCURATE professional typing. Editing. Special attention to detail on theses.—Katherine Singer, 10 Chessington Lodge, London N.3. 01-346 1361.

EMERGENCY TYPEWRITING SERVICE: phone 01-892 7093 or 01-368 7648 for immediate attention. All kinds of typing undertaken, authors' manuscripts, reports, theses, accounts, business letters, &c. Further details on application.

THE ROYAL SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION OF ACCIDENTS

require an

ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN

in a special library. Duties include cataloguing, classification, general library work, and preparation of library publications. Starting salary will be in region of £1,100 per annum with a five-day week.

Applicants, who should have completed Part II of the Library Association Examination, should write giving age, qualifications, experience, present salary, and names of two referees to:

The Secretary (AL),
The Royal Society for the Prevention of Accidents (RoSPA),
52 Grosvenor Gardens,
London, S.W.1,

or telephone 01-730 2246, ext. 34, for further information within 10 days.

PUBLIC HEALTH LABORATORY SERVICE
ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN

Preference will be given to graduate with library qualifications, medical or scientific library experience and knowledge of languages.

Salary within the scale £1,482-£1,929 plus £90 London weighting. Applications with names and addresses of two referees to Personnel Officer, Central Public Health Laboratory, Colindale Avenue, London NW9 5HT. 01-205 7041.

THE COUNCIL OF THE BRITISH NATIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY LTD.

has vacancies for two Research Assistants to work on the OSTI supported PRECIS project. This project which is intended to last until 31st December, 1972, is concerned with the development of a computer produced subject index system and a general thesaurus for machine retrieval of information. A good degree in Life Sciences would be an advantage for one of the posts and the Associateship of the Library Association for the other. Some knowledge of indexing systems would also be an advantage. Salary will be at the rate of £1,300-£1,400 per annum according to experience. The Council has a superannuation fund. Applications giving details of age, qualifications and experience together with the names of two referees should reach the Managing Editor, The British National Bibliography, 7 Rathbone Street, London W1P 2AL, not later than Friday, 12th March, 1971. 01-580 3681.

Cheshire County Council

Senior Assistant Librarian
Hazel Grove

Applications are invited for the post of a Senior Assistant Librarian (North-East Area—Hazel Grove) on Grade AP I-III. Salary and progress according to qualifications and experience.

Application form and details from

The Director,
Libraries and Museums,
91 Hoole Road,
Chester, CH2 3NG
(telephone: Chester 20055),

to whom applications should be sent by March 8th, or, in the event of the postal dispute continuing, 10 days after the resumption of normal services.

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

ARCHITECT OR ARCHITECTURAL ADVISOR

to the Victoria County History.

Main duty investigating and recording English buildings of all periods. Architectural qualifications desirable. Remuneration £3,321-£4,401 by £132 or £138. Pension. Closing date 19th March, 1971, or 14 days after the end of the postal strike whichever is the later.

Further particulars from the Secretary, Institute of Historical Research, University of London, Senate House, London WC1E 7HU. Telephone enquiries to: 01-636 0272 extn. 25.

Chelsea College of Science and Technology
(UNIVERSITY OF LONDON)

Applications are invited for the appointment of Library Assistant in the College Library. Applicants should be at least 21 years of age. Library experience an advantage. Salary on the scale £1,080 (at 21) rising by annual increments to £1,416. Superannuable. 35-hour week. Application, as soon as possible, by telephone to Chelsea College of Science and Technology, Manresa Road, London, S.W.3. Tel. 01-352 6421 ext. 259.

LINDSEY & HOLLAND COUNTY LIBRARY

Applications are invited for the following new posts established from the 1st April, 1971.

1 County Reference Librarian

Responsible for all reference, information, technical and special services throughout the system. Car allowance. Salary within scale A.P.4 (£1,776-£2,025).

2 Branch Librarian Market Rasen

New branch opened January, 1971.

3 Branch Librarian Nettleham

New branch opened February, 1970.

Salary within librarians scale (£1,038-£1,515) commencing at £1,317 for qualified officers (Pt. II) and £1,413 for Chartered Librarians.

Commencing salary in all cases according to qualifications and experience. Assistance with removal expenses and lodging allowance for up to 6 months in approved cases.

For further particulars telephone Lincoln 26445 or 26698 asking for County or Deputy County Librarian.

CLOSING DATE: 8TH MARCH, 1971.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE GALWAY, IRELAND
LECTURESHIP IN ENGLISH

Applications are invited for the above post. The latest date for receipt of applications has been extended to 18th MARCH 1971. Prior to application further information should be obtained from the Secretary, University College Galway, Ireland.

LANCASHIRE EDUCATION COMMITTEE
EDGEHILL COLLEGE OF EDUCATION, ORMSKIRK
TUTOR LIBRARIAN

(previously advertised 22nd and 29th January)

Intending applicants for this post of second Tutor Librarian should write for application forms and further particulars (including details of closing date) as soon as the postal strike is ended.

Salary: Pelham lecturer scale £1,690-£2,325.

Application forms and further particulars can be obtained from the Principal, Edgehill College of Education, Ormskirk, Lancashire.

LIVERPOOL CITY LIBRARIES
SENIOR ASSISTANT
(£2,025-£2,268)

Applicants must be Graduate and/or Chartered Librarians with experience in Local History and/or Archives Departments.

Commencing salary according to qualifications and experience.

General Local Government conditions apply, together with the payment of removal, etc., expenses in appropriate cases.

Application forms, returnable by 14 days after the end of the postal strike, are obtainable from the City Librarian, Central Libraries, William Brown Street, Liverpool, L3 8EW. This closing date also applies to forms sent out following the previous advertisement.

STANLEY HOLMES
Chief Executive and Town Clerk

ANTIQUARIAN BOOKSELLER

with many years' experience in the Rare Book trade, fully qualified as cataloguer, and specialized in Continental Books of all periods, Humanism, and the 16th century. Seeks responsible position.

G. A. von Winter, Johannes Vermeer Plein No. 14, Amsterdam OZ. Tel. 01031-20-733075.

THE BRITISH COUNCIL
requires
DEPUTY MEDICAL LIBRARIAN

Medical Library provides information and bibliographical services for medical people overseas and acts in an advisory capacity to headquarters departments. The Library issues the monthly British Medical Book List and the bi-monthly British Medical Index. The officer appointed should be experienced in the compilation of specialized bibliographies, and would be expected to deal with requests for information, to select books and periodicals for Council exhibitions overseas, to assist in the indexing of articles from British medical periodicals and in the compilation of The British Medical Book List. The duties would also include interviewing and helping medical visitors from overseas.

Candidates should have a professional qualification in librarianship or information science and experience in a medical or scientific library or information service. A knowledge of medical publishing would be useful.

Salary scale £2,107 to £2,317, non-contributory superannuation scheme with transfer arrangements.

Write quoting F/1 to Staff Recruitment Department, The British Council, 65 Davies Street, London W1Y 2AA, for further particulars and application form to be submitted by 14th April.

GUY'S HOSPITAL MEDICAL SCHOOL
Qualified Librarian

preferably with experience of a medical or scientific library, required to take charge of the Medical School Library. University degree desirable.

Salary in range £2,178-£3,417, plus £100 London Allowance, according to qualifications and experience.

Applications, with the names of two referees, by 21st March, 1971, to The Secretary, Guy's Hospital Medical School, London Bridge, S.E.1, from whom further particulars are available on request.

LIVERPOOL CITY LIBRARIES
ASSISTANT LIBRARIANS
£1,272-£1,515

[illegible]ations are invited from suitably qualified persons for the above [illegible]

[illegible]mencing salary according to qualifications and experience.

[illegible] local government conditions apply, together with the payment [illegible] removal, etc., expenses in appropriate cases.

[illegible] forms, returnable by 14 days after the end of the postal [illegible], are obtainable from the City Librarian, Central Libraries, [illegible] Brown Street, Liverpool, L3 8EW. This closing date also [illegible] to forms sent out following the previous advertisement.

STANLEY HOLMES
Chief Executive and Town Clerk.

Classified Advertisements:

The Times Literary Supplement publishes Classified Advertisements under the following headings:

Appointments	Other Categories	
Librarians	Books and Prints	Researchers
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Telephone Numbers: 01-236 2000, Extensions 280, 311, 6182. Telex Number: 885221.

REGIONAL OFFICES

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Glasgow: 53 Bothwell Street, Glasgow, C.2. Tel.: 041-221 9086.
Leeds: 41-43 Albion Street, Leeds, 1. Tel.: 0532 22313.
Manchester: Thomson House, Withy Grove, Manchester, 4. Tel.: 061-834 1234.
Birmingham: Vehicle & General House, 31 Hurst Street, Birmingham, 5. Tel.: 021-622 3424.

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